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Saintly Doctors: The Early Iconography of SS. Cosmas and
Damian in Italy

by

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of
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Abstract

The Italian iconography of the doctor saints Cosmas and Damian reflects fluctuations in the fortunes of the cult of those saints with significant variations in appearance and meaning being tied to changes in the position of the saints with respect to function, as miraculous healers, as representatives of professional doctors and as patrons of a powerful family.

This study considers the development of the iconography of the doctor saints Cosmas and Damian in Italy, beginning with the emergence of images in the late antique period. These early representations are explored within the context of the historic and liturgical origins of the cult of SS. Cosmas and Damian with particular attention paid to the hagiography and more specifically the miracle stories which provide a significant amount of information about the role of images in a Christian healing cult. Evidence that sheds light on the early development of the iconography of the saints reflecting their position within the broader context of the establishment of Christian healers in direct opposition to their popular pagan counterparts.

In the fourteenth century the appearance of SS. Cosmas and Damian was transformed mirroring the appearance of contemporary doctors, which in turn reflected the professionalisation of medicine and the role of the saints as patrons to members of that profession. This iconographic development is considered in the context of sources such as university statutes and civic sumptuary regulations that helped to shape the environment of increasing specialization that resulted in

the necessity of a distinctive costume for qualified professionals. At the same time there remained continuity in the position SS. Cosmas and Damian inhabited in the popular imagination with images of the saints continuing to be associated with their traditional role as miraculous healers.

Finally the large number of images commissioned by Cosimo de' Medici in Florence in the first half of the fifteenth century are examined. At this time the position of the saints, as intercessors for and protectors of the Medici family allowed them to appear in unfamiliar locations granting them a civic and political relevance not achieved before in the history of the cult. The clear identification of the saints with the family allowed them to act as a reminder of the family's position in Florence and for a time the doctors were known as family patrons rather than solely as doctors and healers.

Introduction

This thesis will trace the development of the iconography of the doctor saints Cosmas and Damian in Italy, beginning with the few images that remain from time of the arrival of the cult in the late antique period and concluding with the numerous examples of paintings that were commissioned by Cosimo de' Medici in Florence in the fifteenth century. Through the dissertation there is a gradual narrowing of the field of study both geographically and chronologically, as it begins with the broader character of the *longue durée*, exploring the developments and consistencies in the iconography over many centuries and ends up at a specific time and place in history when the cult flourishes beyond its traditional associations with healing and the field of medicine.¹

The research began with an appraisal of the surviving examples of the Italian iconography of SS. Cosmas and Damian and the records of dedications to the saints. It became apparent very quickly that there existed a large number of images from Florence in the fifteenth century complemented by a significant amount of scholarship whilst the preceding centuries presented a contrasting picture with fewer images and much less research available. Although the thesis is structured in a broadly chronological sequence, the nature of the surviving evidence dictated a more episodic progress within that framework with examples used to illuminate specific points.

¹ The latter part is closer to what Fernand Braudel would call *l'histoire événementielle*. F. Braudel, "History and the Social Sciences: the Longue Duree" *On History*, trans. Sarah Matthews (Chicago, 1982) 25-54.

Special attention is paid to the significant changes or developments in the imagery beginning with the emergence of an iconography in the sixth century that reflected the position of the saints within the broader context of the establishment of Christian healing cults in direct opposition to existing and popular pagan offerings. The second major change occurs following the increasing intellectualisation of European society in twelfth and thirteenth centuries when the rise of the universities resulted in the emergence of a more professional medical community clearly visible in the appearance of SS. Cosmas and Damian. Finally the third major event in the history of the cult is the adoption of the saints by the Medici family whose promotion of the doctors in imagery resulted in the saints appearing in numerous paintings by significant artists achieving a prominence not seen before in the history of the cult. And yet, despite the changes and developments in the iconography there are consistencies of appearance and meaning that surface again and again throughout the time period discussed.

There exists a fair amount of literature on SS. Cosmas and Damian outside of the field of art history. Partly this is due to the fact that the doctor brothers remain popular healers to this day and cult centres continue to operate successfully in many different places.² A significant amount of the interest in the

² See Pierre Julien, "Côme et Damien hier et aujourd'hui: Quelques questions" in Pierre Julien and François Ledermann, eds. *Saint Côme et saint Damien Culte et iconographie. Colloque Mendrisio 29-30 IX 1985* (Zurich, 1985) 43-62. Sac Biagio Pesole. *I Santi Medici Cosma e Damiano ed il loro culto in Conversano. Note Storiche* (Mezzina, 1972). Anna Maria Tripputi, *Cosma e Damiano: medici del corpo e dell'anima : culto e devozione popolare ad Alberobello* (Alberobello, 1997).

saints has also come out of the medical-pharmaceutical community and SS. Cosmas and Damian, as will be shown in this study, have been patrons of doctors, surgeons and pharmacists for many centuries and as such they continue to hold fascination for many in those fields.³ Such specific interest in the cult also provides invaluable information on regional worship and locations of dedications and images.⁴ There do exist some useful but general surveys of the iconography such as the 1958 *Iconographie des Saints médecins Côme et Damien* by Marie-Louise David-Danel which has a French emphasis and Anneliese Wittman's 1967 consideration of cult in the German milieu.⁵ Heinz Skrobucha provides a catalogue of mainly eastern examples of images of the saints in *The Patrons of the Doctors*.⁶ There is an essay on the Italian iconography of the Saints that enumerates the Florentine Medicean examples of the iconography.⁷ The majority of the scholarly literature on SS. Cosmas and Damian however comes from the field of hagiography and it is here that the thesis begins providing a review of the historic and hagiographic evidence relating to the saints in an effort to illuminate

³ Pierre Julien and François Ledermann have contributed much in this area. See Pierre Julien, François Ledermann and Alain Touwaide, *Cosma e Damiano: Dal culto popolare alla protezione di chirurghi, medici e farmacisti. Aspetti e immagini* (Milan, 1993); Pierre Julien and François Ledermann, eds. *Saint Côme et saint Damien Culte et iconographie. Colloque Mendrisio 29-30 IX 1985* (Zurich, 1985).

Walter Artelt, *Kosmas und Damian : die Schutzpatrone der Ärzte und Apotheker : eine Bildfolge* (Darmstadt, 1952-53); *Kosmas und Damian : die Schutzpatrone der Ärzte und Apotheker : eine Bildfolge* (Darmstadt, 1954). Also Kees W. Zimmerman, *One Leg in the Grave: The Miracle of the Transplantation of the Black Leg by the Saints Cosmas and Damian* (Maarssen, 1998).

⁴ Conference...

⁵ Marie-Louise David-Danel, *Iconographie des Saints médecins Côme et Damien* (Lille, 1958) and Anneliese Wittmann, *Kosmas und Damian: Kulturausbreitung und Volksdevotion* (Berlin, 1967).

⁶ Heinz Skrobucha in *The Patrons of the Doctors*, trans. Hans Hermann Rosenwald (Recklinghausen, 1967).

⁷ Elena Giannarelli, Ed. *Cosma e Damiano dall'Oriente a Firenze*. Florence, 2002.

the origins of the cult and thereby provide a context for the emergence of an iconography. Further early hagiographic documents reveal much about the use and function of images within the cult helping to explain the visual attributes that developed for the saints. The written sources combined with the visual evidence provided by the earliest images of the saints shed light on the early iconography reflecting the position of SS. Cosmas and Damian as Christian healers, anargyroi, in contrast to their pagan counterparts.

The hagiographic tradition began with the Austrian Jesuits Simon Wangnereck and Reinhold Dehn in 1660 and was taken up by the Bollandists in the comprehensive entry for the seventh volume of *Acta Sanctorum* in 1760 edited by Johannes Stilting.⁸ Many of the texts first published by Wangnereck and Dehn were re-edited by Ludwig Deubner who compiled a definitive version of the early miracles of the saints in his comprehensive 1907 volume entitled, *Kosmas und Damian, Texte und Enleitung*.⁹ By the later twentieth century several more early manuscripts had come to light and important re-examinations of the material were completed by Michel van Esbroeck and Gennaro Luongo.¹⁰ Much of the writing centres on trying to discover the origins of what had become a

⁸ Johannes Stilting, "De SS. Cosma, Damiano, Anthimo, Leontio et Euprepio MM" *Acta Sanctorum Septembris VII* (Antwerp, 1760), 438-441

⁹ Ludwig Deubner, Ludwig Deubner, *Kosmas und Damian, Texte und Enleitung* (Berlin, 1907).

¹⁰ Michel van Esbroeck "La diffusion orientale de la légende des saints Cosme et Damien" *Hagiographie, Culture et sociétés IVe – XIIIe siècles*. Actes du colloque organisé à Nanterre et à Paris (2-5 Mai, 1979) (Paris, 1981) 61-77; Michel van Esbroeck, "La légende 'romaine' des SS. Côme et Damien (BHG 373d) et sa métaphrase géorgienne par Jean Xiphilin" *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 47 (1981) 389-425; Michel van Esbroeck, "La légende 'romaine' de SS. Côme et Damien (BHG 373d) et sa métaphrase géorgienne par Jean Xiphilin" *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 48 (1982) 29-64; Gennaro Luongo, "Il 'dossier' agiografico dei Santi Cosma e Damiano" *Sant'Eufemia D'Aspromonte. Atti del convegno di Studi per il bicentenario dell'autonomia*. Ed. Sandro Leanza (Squillace, 1990) 33-89.

particularly complicated hagiographic tradition. In fact the great hagiographer Hippolyte Delehaye warns of the difficulty of trying to do this in a case like that of Cosmas and Damian whose cult grew very quickly, obscuring its origins and for whom very little historical proof exists outside of the legendising process.¹¹

The Byzantine hagiographic writings on SS. Cosmas and Damian reflect the rapid growth of the cult in their complexity. Numerous different versions of the Legend of the saints emerged resulting in the identification of several different pairs of saints. In Latin sources the evolution of the legend was less ambiguous. Although shortly after the appearance of SS. Cosmas and Damian in the Roman Liturgy there are traces of the hagiographic multiplicity that characterised the Eastern story, the version of the Life of the saints that developed in the West was much more uniform remaining essentially the same through the middle ages and beyond.

With no historical proof of the existence of the saints the origins of their cult are difficult to pin down, but a picture can be built up from the evidence provided by the hagiographic background as well as liturgical notices, historical documents, and the earliest locations of worship and associated collections of miracles. It is clear that from an early starting point at Cyrrhus, near Aleppo in Northern Syria, the cult centre at Kosmidon in Constantinople quickly eclipsed all others in importance.

¹¹ H. Delehaye, *Les Origines du culte des martyrs*, *Subsidia Hagiographica* 20 (Brussels, 1933) 143, and H. Delehaye, *Les Légendes hagiographiques*, *Subsidia Hagiographica* 18 (Brussels, 1955) 117-118.

The miracle stories, particularly the *Libellus miraculorum Cosmae et Damiani* as edited by Deubner in his 1907 volume on the saints, provide a rich source of information about the function of images, both devotional and votive, in a Christian healing cult.¹² Particularly interesting on this subject are the papers that accompanied the Dumbarton Oaks symposium of 5-7 May 2000 entitled, *Pilgrimage in the Byzantine Empire 7th-15th Centuries*.¹³ Using the earliest surviving examples, the emerging iconography of SS. Cosmas and Damian will be defined and then examined within this context of early Christian images with particular emphasis on the role of healing saints and their shrines. Equally, the images themselves have much to reveal about the context in which they were produced. Upon considering the first extant images, from the sixth century, it became clear that they were iconographically and stylistically consistent with contemporary examples from around the Mediterranean and it seemed necessary and indeed appropriate to include these images as well as those found in Rome and Ravenna.

The earliest examples of images of the saints served to identify saints at places of worship as well as to stimulate the dream visions necessary to the process of incubation that was often the route to a cure. Images also provided visual proof of the successful interventions of the object of a cult. It is argued here that the images that were created struck a balance between presenting the

¹² The miracles are also discussed in Ernst Kitzinger, "The Cult of Images in the age Before Iconoclasm," *The Art of Byzantium and the Medieval West* (Bloomington, 1976)

¹³ Published in *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 56 (2002). See also Hans Belting, *Likeness and Presence: A History of the Image before the Era of Art* (Chicago, 1994).

saints as appropriate and effective replacements for the pre-Christian healing cults and presenting the saints as distinct enough for them to not be confused with these same predecessors. The iconography of SS. Cosmas and Damian thus inherited some aspects from the pagan images but also drew on secular medical practice in order to represent the saints in a distinctive manner as Christian doctors. Having been established the iconography remained consistent over the subsequent centuries and the examples from the tenth, eleventh and twelfth centuries retain much from earlier prototypes as will be shown through analysis of some of the surviving images from this time on the Italian peninsula.

By the fourteenth century, Italy, like other countries in Western Europe, had developed a distinctive iconography of Cosmas and Damian that reflected the appearance of contemporary doctors. This regional specificity combined with an increase in surviving examples made it possible to be more geographically precise and focus exclusively on examples arising out of the Italian milieu. Approximately sixty images are considered from the beginning of the fourteenth century to the 1470s, the decade after the death of Cosimo de'Medici, representing the majority of Italian images from the time period to help examine the evolution of the iconography rather than provide a complete catalogue.

The changes to the iconography of SS. Cosmas and Damian were closely related to the increasing professionalisation of the field of medicine and a study of the iconography must take into account this environment of increasing specialization in education with qualifications becoming more precise.

Regulations pertinent to the new appearance of the saints can be found in sources such as university statutes and civic sumptuary regulations.¹⁴ Also to be considered is the relationship between the appearance of the saints and their function as patrons to the medical profession. SS. Cosmas and Damian's unusual identity as professional doctors in life made them eminently suitable to this role, allowing them in this instance to bridge the gap between sacred and secular healing. In return the saints achieved a new prominence in some of the works commissioned by affluent physicians, at a time when a more individual relationship between these lay professionals and their holy patrons is apparent. Yet at the same time the continuation of their traditional role as miraculous healers remained a defining characteristic of their cult at this time as is witnessed by numerous surviving votive frescoes.

There was some flexibility demonstrated in the imagery reflecting these different roles as well as different regional influences and patrons. In the specific case of Florence and its dependent territories there was much less variation, a dominant iconographic model having been the one adopted by the Medici family in the first half of the Quattrocento that carried on for the rest of the century. It is here that the final part of the thesis rests, focussing on the images that arose out of the relationship between the Medici family and the cult of SS. Cosmas and Damian in the first half of the fifteenth century.

¹⁴ An early study beginning this work can be found in Andrea Corsini, *Il costume del medico nelle pitture fiorentine del Rinascimento* (Florence, 1912).

The exception to the lack of art historical academic writing in the field occurs when images of SS. Cosmas and Damian commissioned by Cosimo de' Medici in the fifteenth century are examined within the broader context of Medici iconography and patronage by a number of authors. Of course a man as powerful and influential as Cosimo attracted the attention of biographers and historians even within his own lifetime and the list of authors that followed are too numerous to list.¹⁵ In more recent scholarship the images themselves are often seen within the context of the Medici position in Florence and the iconography is explained as expressing particular political and dynastic aims.¹⁶ Many of the images also fall under the remit of studies of particular artists, for example William Hood's examination of Fra Angelico's work at San Marco.¹⁷ Here the influence of the patron over the iconography is downplayed with respect to the devotional context of Dominican Observance and the influence of the artist. The most comprehensive study of Cosimo's patronage as a whole is provided by Dale Kent.¹⁸ She differs from those who have applied a more strictly political filter to Medici art and looks to a more rounded approach to the patron explaining that in

¹⁵ See Vespasiano da Bisticci, *The Vespasiano Memoirs: Lives of Illustrious Men of the XV Century*. Trans. William George and Emily Waters, trans (Toronto, 1997).

¹⁶ For example John Paoletti, "Fraternal Piety and Family Power: The Artistic Patronage of Cosimo and Lorenzo de' Medici," Francis Ames-Lewis, ed., *Cosimo 'il Vecchio' de' Medici, 1389-1464. Essays in Commemoration of the 600th Anniversary of Cosimo de' Medici's Birth* (Oxford, 1992) 195-219; Francis Ames-Lewis, "Art in the Service of the Family. The Taste and Patronage of Piero di Cosimo de' Medici" Andreas Beyer and Bruce Boucher eds., *Piero de' Medici 'il Gottoso' (1416-1469): Kunst im Dienste der Mediceer*, (Berlin, 1993) 207-220; Megan Holmes, *Fra Filippo Lippi: The Carmelite Painter*, (New Haven, 1999).

¹⁷ William Hood, *Fra Angelico at San Marco* (New Haven, 1993).

¹⁸ Dale Kent, *Cosimo de' Medici and the Florentine Renaissance: The Patron's Oeuvre* (New Haven, 2000). An earlier quite a comprehensive look at Cosimo de' Medici's religious patronage is provided by Crispin Charles Robinson, *Cosimo de' Medici's Patronage of the Observantist Movement*, (Mphil Thesis, The Courtauld Institute of Art, University of London, 1984).

the fifteenth century it is very difficult to distinguish between political and pious, civic and dynastic impulses of a patron such as Cosimo de' Medici.¹⁹

In this case the study will not attempt to examine Medici patronage as a whole rather it will attempt to investigate their use of the imagery of SS. Cosmas and Damian and situate the works within the broader context of the iconography of the doctor saints. It is hoped that examining such well-known works through a different prism will provide insights hitherto not considered. Indeed in exploring the Medici portrayals of SS. Cosmas and Damian, it is important to point out that the family did not change the iconography in any significant way they adopted it as their own, however their wealth and influence allowed them to dominate it for a time, particularly in Florence itself. It was this dominance of the iconography that created a strong association with the family and a distancing from the familiar functions of the cult. These changes in the position of the cult of SS. Cosmas and Damian will also be considered.

¹⁹ D. Kent, *Cosimo de' Medici*, 131-132.

Frequently used abbreviations

AASS *Acta Sanctorum*. Brussels, 1902-1970.

BHL *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Latina Antiquae et Mediae Aetatis*. Ed. Société des Bollandistes. 2 vols. Brussels, 1898-1901.

BHG *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Greca*. Ed. F. Halkin. 3vols. Brussels, 1957.

DOP *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*

LP Dushesne, L., ed. *Le Liber Pontificalis*, 3 vols., Paris, 1955-1957.

MGH *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*.

PG *Patrologiae cursus completus, series graeca*. Ed. J.P. Migne. 162 vols. Paris, 1857-1866.

PL *Patrologiae cursus completus, series latina*. Ed. J.P. Migne. 221 vols. Paris, 1841-1864.

PO *Patrologia Orientalis*, ed. R. Graffin and F. Nau. Paris, 1907 ff.

Chapter 1: The origins of the cult of SS. Cosmas and Damian and the Development of the Hagiographic Legend of the saints in Byzantine and Western Sources.

By the sixth century Cosmas and Damian were extraordinarily popular healers and their cult was spread over a wide geographic area including Mesopotamia, Gaul, Egypt, Greece, and Italy. Numerous translations of relics established the thaumaturgic power of the anargyric saints in many places. Their bodies, or parts thereof, were believed to be present and effective in multiple locations including Cyrrhus near Aleppo in northern Syria, Constantinople, Aegea, Rome and Tours.

This chapter examines the historic and hagiographic evidence relating to SS. Cosmas and Damian in order to illuminate the origins of the cult and thereby provide a context for the emergence of an iconography. With no historical proof of actual saints named Cosmas and Damian, the beginnings of the cult are impossible to identify with absolute certainty, but a picture can be built up from the evidence provided by liturgical notices, historical documents and the earliest locations of worship and associated collections of miracles. The rapid spread of the popular cult further obscured its origins resulting in a convoluted hagiographic tradition/literature that has been responsible for most of the scholarly writing on these saints. Both the Byzantine and the Latin traditions will be considered. The Byzantine hagiographic writings on SS. Cosmas and Damian are noteworthy in their complexity. Numerous competing versions of the Legend

of the saints emerged resulting in the identification of several different pairs of saints and much has been written by hagiographers and churchmen over the centuries in an attempt to establish a chronology for these. In the West the development of the legend was less ambiguous than in the Byzantine sources. Although shortly after the appearance of SS. Cosmas and Damian in the Roman Liturgy there are traces of the hagiographic multiplicity that characterised the Byzantine story, the version of the Life of the saints that developed in the West was more uniform. In fact from the earliest sources very little was added to the tale that survived throughout the Middle Ages and beyond. Finally the position of the saints as Christian doctors will be considered, as it is the most significant of their characteristics to influence an emerging iconography.

Part 1: Origins

Liturgical sources do not provide a precise chronological starting point for the worship of SS. Cosmas and Damian. In fact the first date available to hagiographers studying the saints is an omission. It is the absence of SS. Cosmas and Damian from the Syrian Martyrology. Compiled in Edessa in 411, this is the oldest preserved Martyrology, and is actually a poor translation of an original and comprehensive mid-fourth century Greek Martyrology from Nicomedia.²⁰

However in 434 there is a dedication to the saints at Cyrrhus in Northern Syria, mentioned in a letter by Theodoret, bishop of that city. This demonstrates that the

²⁰ BM, ms. add. 12150 in F. Nau, "Martyrologes et ménologes orientaux I-XIII. Un martyrologe et douze ménologes Syriaques" *PO* 10, 7-163. Jaques Dubois, "Martyrologe," *Martyrologes: d'Usuard au Martyrologe romain* (Abbeville, 1990) 6.

doctor saints were certainly known well enough by the early fifth century for a sanctuary to have been built in their honour and the late fourth century emerges as the most likely date for the origins of the cult.

The adoption of the saints in many places quickly followed.²¹ For example by the mid fifth century at least two churches dedicated to SS. Cosmas and Damian had been built in Constantinople.²² In 457 the *Edessene Chronicle* mentions a martyrion in honour of SS. Cosmas and Damian built by bishop Nonno at the hospital in that city.²³ St. Sabas (439-532) transformed his paternal home in Mutalaska in Cappadocia into a church dedicated to SS. Comas and Damian.²⁴ A sanctuary was built ca. 530 in the city of Gerasa (now Jarash in Jordan). Dedicatory inscriptions on the floor indicate the completion date of 533 under the patronage of Bishop Paul of Gerasa.²⁵ In Ravenna and in Rome there is evidence of the cult in the late fifth century, with a mosaic in the Chapel of the Archbishop in Ravenna and an oratory attached to the church of Santa Maria Maggiore in Rome. Fifth or sixth-century mosaics in the dome of Hagios Georgios in Thessalonike, which include SS. Cosmas and Damian, attest to the

²¹Johannes Stilling, "De SS. Cosma, Damiano, Anthimo, Leontio et Euprepio MM," *Acta Sanctorum Septembris*, Tomus VII (Antwerp, 1760) 438-441.

²² Raimond. Janin, *La Géographie Ecclésiastique de L'Empire Byzantin. Tome III: Les Églises et les monastères* (Paris, 1969) 284-289.

²³ *Chronicon Edessenum* in *AASS* VII, 439.

²⁴ Cyrille de Scythopolis, "Vie de Saint Sabas," in A. J. Festugière trans., *Les moines d'orient III/2. Les moines de Palestine* (Paris, 1962) 75.

²⁵ Abandoned ca. 720. Sami K. Hamarneh, "Cosmas and Damian in the Near East: Earliest Extant Monument," *Pharmacy in History* 27 (1985) 78-83.

presence of the cult there as well.²⁶ Procopius also mentions the house of SS.

Cosmas and Damian in Pamphylia in *De Aedificiis*.²⁷ In the late sixth century a church in Jerusalem with a monastery is mentioned by John Moschus in *Pratum Spirituale*.²⁸ Gregory of Tours described having relics of SS. Cosmas and Damian himself in the mid sixth century.²⁹

From amongst these early dedications it is possible to hypothesize a geographic starting point for the cult. Although the life of SS. Cosmas and Damian is undocumented outside of legend, there is quite a bit of evidence supporting the belief in the existence of the tomb of the saints in the region of Cyrrhus in northern Syria from an early date.³⁰

The first source is the afore-mentioned Theodoret, (c. 393-c.460), fifth-century Bishop of Cyrrhus, who mentions the saints in two letters. In the first, Theodoret mentions in passing dedications of places of worship to S. Cosmas.³¹ In the second letter, dated to around Easter 434, the reference is more specific. He describes a basilica dedicated to Cosmas and Damian in his city and an attempt by a mob of his adversaries to burn it down:

²⁶ Ejnar Dyggve, "Fouilles et Recherches faites en 1939 et en 1952-53 à Thessaloniki. Recherches sur le Palais Imperial de Thessalonique: Architecture et Mosaïques," *Corsi di Cultura sull'Arte Ravennate e Bizantina* 2 (1957) 79-88.

²⁷ Procopius, *Buildings* 9, *Procopius with an English Translation by the late H.B. Dewing with coll. of Glanville Downey, VII*, trans. H.H. Dewing (London, 1940) 361. *AASS VII*, 439.

²⁸ Ioannis Moschi, *Pratum Spirituale*, PG 87/3, 2989-2990. Hippolyte Delehaye, *Les Origines du culte des martyrs*, *Subsidia Hagiographica* 20 (Brussels, 1933) 186.

²⁹ "In cellula sancti Martini ecclesia ipsi contigua, sanctorum Cosmae et Damiani martyrum reliquias posui," Gregory of Tours, *Historia Francorum* X, PL 71, 571.

³⁰ The site is at Kuros about 60km north east of Aleppo. Alfred Baudrillart, ed., *Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques* III (Paris, 1956) 1186-1187. Delehaye believes their cult was established with a basilica built over their tomb at Cyrrhus. Hippolyte Delehaye, "Les Recueils Antiques de Miracles des Saints" *Analecta Bollandiana* 43 (1925) 8.

³¹ PG 83, 1373-1374.

"...after having gathered a numerous mob against us, they threatened to burn down the basilica of the saints, the virtuous and glorious athletes of Christ, Cosmas and Damian, and maybe they would have executed their threats, if the fear of meeting us had not put them to flight."³²

In the first half of the sixth century the archdeacon Theodosius in *De situ terrae sanctae*, while describing the province of Cilicia, also mentions the tomb at Cyrrhus, "...Antioch all the way to Cyrrhus (Quiro), where Cosmas and Damian are consecrated, and who were killed there."³³ Further testimony from the sixth century is found in the writing of the Byzantine historian John Malalas who includes the saints in a narrative about Emperor Carinus and again locates their tomb in the region of Cyrrhus.³⁴ Another sixth-century source describes the great Rabbula of Edessa (d.435) visiting a sanctuary dedicated to SS. Cosmas and Damian where he saw the miracle that converted him to Christianity. This sanctuary has also been identified with the basilica at Cyrrhus. In the Syriac manuscript, which dates back to the sixth century, Rabbula, future bishop of Edessa, is invited by Eusebius of Chalcis and Acacius of Beroea to pray at the chapel of SS. Cosmas and Damian at Beroea (Aleppo). The source, although not always accepted as authoritative on Rabbula, does date to the sixth century and describes a sanctuary dedicated to SS. Cosmas and Damian.³⁵

³² "...grandem siquidem contra nos multitudinem congregantes, incendere minabantur sanctorum bonorumque victorum et athletarum Christi Cosmae et Damiani basilicam et quod minabantur forsitan opere perpetrassent, nisi occursum nostrum reuerita multitudo fugisset." Letter C25, written to the magistrum militum, survives in a Latin manuscript (Cass.221). Theodoret de Cyr, *Correspondence IV, Sources Chrétiennes* 429, trans. Yvan Azéma (Paris, 1998) 269.

³³ "De Antiochia usque in Quiro, ubi sunt sanctus Cosmas et Damianus, qui ibi et percussi sunt." Theodosius, *De situ terrae sanctae* 32. *Corpus Christianorum* 175 (Turnhout, 1965) 125.

³⁴ Joannis Malalae, *Chronographia*, PG 97, 459-462.

³⁵ Paul Peeters, *Les Tréfonds Oriental de l'Hagiographie Byzantine, Subsidia Hagiographica* 26 (Brussels, 1950) 65-66.

Procopius attests to the belief in the existence of the tomb there during the reign of Justinian I (c. 483-565). He explains that there was a fortress in Cyrrhus that was built by the Jews in early times when they were carried off as captives from Palestine into Assyria. The Jews were released much later by King Cyrus (537 BC) and so the place was named after their benefactor. By the time of Justinian, Cyrrhus was so neglected that it was necessary for Justinian to rebuild much of the city including the walls and fortifications. This attention was, as Procopius describes, important to the security of the state but also due to Justinian's special regard for Saints Cosmas and Damian, "whose bodies lie close by even to my day".³⁶

Despite the claim to have the bodies of the saints in Cyrrhus, in the fifth century it was the basilica called Kosmidon in Constantinople that had eclipsed all the other sites of worship in Byzantium in importance.³⁷ The most comprehensive collection of Greek miracles of SS. Cosmas and Damian is associated with this church. Although never considered the location of the tomb of the saints, in the miracles associated with the basilica there is mention of some relics of SS. Cosmas and Damian. In one of the sixth or seventh century miracles a woman is described as being from Cyrrhestia where the remains of Cosmas and

³⁶ Procopius, *Buildings* II, ix, 175. Delehay, *Les Origines du culte des martyrs*, 190. AASS VII, 439.

³⁷ Delehay, *Les Origines du culte des martyrs*, 190. Janin, *La Géographie Ecclésiastique*, 284-289.

Damian lie. A slightly later miracle, from after the eighth century describes the sainted relics as being next to the shrine in Constantinople.³⁸

Tradition says that this church and monastery north of Blachernae on the Golden Horn was built around 439 by Paulinus, former companion to Theodosius II.³⁹ The sanctuary was already well known when Marcellinus mentions it in his chronicle of 516 describing how the atrium was the location of the healing of Lawrence, bishop of Lychnidos (Ohrid).⁴⁰ However, the complex must have been in some disrepair by the early sixth century when it was renovated by Emperor Justinian I.

Justinian had a particular reverence for SS. Cosmas and Damian because he had been a beneficiary of one of their healing miracles. In gratitude he beautified, enlarged and remodelled the church in Constantinople.⁴¹ Procopius relates the story of how the Emperor was gravely ill, to the point where the physicians had given him up for dead. He lay down in front of the church dedicated to SS. Cosmas and Damian, “at the far end of the bay on the ground that rises on a steep slope.” The saints then appeared to him in a vision and healed him. So, Procopius continues, whenever anyone finds themselves ill

³⁸ Miracle 34, A. J. Festugière, trans., ed., *Sainte Thècle, Saints Côme et Damien, Saints Cyr et Jean (extraits), Saint Georges. Collections Greques de Miracles*. (Paris, 1971) 181-185. A further miracle mentions both sanctuaries. Miracle 18 in F. Halkin, “Publications Récentes de Textes Hagiographiques Greques” *Analecta Bollandiana* 53 (1935) 379.

³⁹ Janin explains that the link to Paulinus cannot be proven, and the first definitive proof of the existence of the church is in 518 in the list of monasteries in the capital compiled for the patriarch John II. Janin, *La Géographie Ecclésiastique*, 286.

⁴⁰ Marcellini, *Comitis Chronicon*, MGH, *Auct. antiquiss. XI*, ed. Mommsen (1894) 99.

⁴¹ The Church was pillaged and eventually burnt down by Avars c. 626, but was rebuilt. It was renovated by Michael IV in 1034-1041 and did not suffer much in the Latin occupation 1204-1261. In the 15th C the patriarch Photius was exiled to the monastery of Cosmidon and an anonymous Russian describes how to get there in 1424-1434. Modern authors identify the place with Eyüp. Janin, *La Géographie Ecclésiastique*, 286-289.

beyond the ability of physicians they take refuge in the one possibility left.

Getting onto flat boats they are carried up the bay to this church and as they enter its mouth they see the shrine and it gives them hope.⁴²

The earliest surviving evidence of the cult of SS. Cosmas and Damian in the West is from the early sixth century. The doctor saints are portrayed in the roundels on the underside of the southeastern arch supporting the dome of the chapel of the Archbishop in Ravenna (Cappella dell'Arcivescovado) that was built between 494 and 519.⁴³ At the same time an oratory established at the church of *Santa Maria Maggiore* by Pope Symmachus (498-514) was the first recorded dedication to the saints in Rome.⁴⁴ By the eighth century there is evidence of the chapel being attached to an old people's hospice. The presence of the *gerocomium* was likely related to the dedication to the healing saints, in a manner familiar to the cult such as in Constantinople.⁴⁵ The basilica did claim to have some relics of the saints as well, according to the *Acta Sanctorum*.⁴⁶

The basilica dedicated to SS. Cosmas and Damian was established in the forum by Pope Felix IV (526-530). The foundation of the church is described in the *Liber Pontificalis*, "Here he erected a basilica of Saints Cosmas and Damian

⁴² Procopius, *Buildings* I, 6, 63. Also *AASS VII*, 439-440.

⁴³ Friedrich Wilhelm Deichmann, *Frühchristliche Bauten und Mosaiken von Ravenna* (Baden-Baden, 1958) 214-245.

⁴⁴ "Item ad Sanctam Mariam oratorium Sanctorum Cosmae et Damiani a fundamento/is construxit." L. Duchesne, ed. *LP I* (1955) 262. The notice does not appear in the first edition of the *LP* which ends with Felix IV (526-530), however this edition is not considered complete and it does appear in the second edition. The oratory is also referred to as *ad Praesepe*, *all'Esquilino*, or *Uspani*. Filippo Caraffa, ed. *Monasticon Italiae I. Roma e Lazio*, (Cesena, 1981) 50.

⁴⁵ The *gerocomium* was mentioned in the life of Gregory II (715-731) but it is unclear whether he founded it or not. *LPI*, 397-398. Victor Saxer thinks Gregory II built the hospice and Gregory III later converted it to a monastery. Victor Saxer, *Sainte-Marie-Majeur: Une Basilique de Rome dans l'histoire de la ville et de son église (V^e – XIII^e siècle)*, (Rome, 2001) 73-75.

⁴⁶ The relics included some blood, brain and a bit of a garment. *AASS VII*, 442.

in the city of Rome, in the place called the Via Sacra, near the temple of the City of Rome."⁴⁷ The church, the first Christian building in the forum, was not built from the ground up but was created out of existing secular buildings and in fact Felix converted several buildings in the forum to Christian worship during his reign. At SS. *Cosma e Damiano* Felix IV almost certainly decorated the interior of the buildings, including the apse mosaic, and added ecclesiastical furniture.⁴⁸ The day celebrated at this church was September 27, the date of its dedication.

The exact reasons for the foundation of a sanctuary dedicated to the doctor saints in this location are open to speculation. John Baldovin describes the church as a 'show church' explaining that the area was not very populous and thus it was not likely to have been built to serve a local congregation.⁴⁹ The early fifth century was a time when Romans were showing an interest in Eastern saints, a church was dedicated to S. Anastasia at this time as well as the dedication to SS. Cosmas and Damian.⁵⁰ It has also been suggested that the gift of the building

⁴⁷"*Hic fecit basilicam sanctorum Cosmae et Damiani in urbe Roma, in loco qui appellatur II Via Sacra, iuxta templum urbis Romae.*" In the first edition it says, "*Hic fecit basilica sanctorum Cosme et Damiani in urbe Roma, iuxta templum urbis Romae.*" *LP I*, 279. The location of the church is pinpointed in the life of Hadrian I (772-795) at which time it was made a deaconry. John Baldovin, *The Urban Character of Christian Worship. The Origins, Development, and Meaning of Stational Liturgy*, (Rome, 1987) 116.

⁴⁸ For discussion of the previous Roman buildings see Pier Luigi Tucci, "Nuovo acquisizioni sulla basilica dei Santi Cosma e Damiano" *Studi Romani* 49 (2001) 275-293. Much of the work on the existing buildings is based on Phillip Barrows Whitehead, "Degli antichi edifici componenti la chiesa dei Ss. Cosma e Damiano al Foro Romano" *Nuovo Bulletino di archeologia cristiana* 19 (1913) 143-165. Also Giovanni Biasiotti and Philip Barrows Whitehead "La Chiesa dei Ss. Cosma e Damiano al Foro Romano e gli edifici preesistenti" *Atti della Pontificia accademia romana di archeologia, Rendiconti* 3 (1924-25) 83-122. Richard Krautheimer, *Corpus Basilicarum Christianarum Romae: le basiliche cristiane di Roma (sec. IV-IX)* I, (Città del Vaticano, 1937-1964) 137-143. J.N.D. Kelly, *Oxford Dictionary of Popes*, (Oxford, 1986) 56.

⁴⁹Other minor non-titular basilicas were also built at this time, such as Sto. Stefano Rotondo (468-483). Baldovin, *The Urban Character of Christian Worship*, 116.

⁵⁰ Peter Llewellyn, *Rome in the Dark Ages*, (London, 1993) 37

by Amalasuntha, who was not an Arian as Theoderic had been and was close to the Romans, could also be seen as a symbol of allegiance to the Church.⁵¹ It is also almost certain that, as was often the case with SS. Cosmas and Damian, the church was intended to compete with existing cults to non-Christian healing deities in the same area. The location of the church, on the opposite side of the forum to devotional centres dedicated to the Dioscuri and Asklepios, could have been intended to provide a Christian alternative to these places.⁵² The healing nature of the saints was proclaimed in the mosaic inscription:

The hall of God shines beautiful with bright metals, but in it the precious light of faith sparkles (even) more. Since the martyrs are doctors, a sure hope of salvation has come to the people and the place has increased from the holy honour. Felix has offered this gift worthy of the lord bishop so that he may live in the highest vault of the airy heavens.⁵³

What is also clear in the mosaic and inscription is that a votive or devotional impetus on the part of the Pope Felix IV must also have contributed to the founding of the church. Felix was thought to be close to Constantinople, he

⁵¹ Thomas F. Mathews, *The Clash of Gods: A Reinterpretation of Early Christian Art*, (Princeton, 1993) 168-176. Llewellyn, *Rome in the Dark Ages*, 48-50.

⁵² The main shrine to Asklepios was founded at a time of plague in 295 BC on the Isola Tiburtina. Ralph Jackson, *Doctors and Diseases in the Roman Empire* (London, 1988) 11. Gennaro Luongo, "Il 'dossier' agiografico dei Santi Cosma e Damiano" *Sant'Eufemia D'Aspromonte. Atti del convegno di Studi per il bicentenario dell'autonomia*, ed. Sandro Leanza (Squillace, 1990) 40-41. G. Matthiae, *SS. Cosma e Damiano* (Rome, n.d.) 16. Adalberto Pazzini believes the location was medical, it was next to the Tempio della Pace where Galen taught until it burned down in 188 AD. After the fire the doctors continued to meet there. Adalberto Pazzini, *Storia dell'insegnamento medico in Roma*, (Bologna, 1935) 194.

⁵³AULA DEI CLARIS RADIAT SPECIOSA METALLIS
IN QUA PLUS FIDEI LUX PRETIOSA MICAT
MARTYRIBUS MEDICIS POPULO SPES CERTA SALUTIS
VENIT ET EX SACRO CREVIT HONORE LOCUS.
OBTULIT HOC DOMINO FELIX ANTISTITE DIGNUM
MUNUS UT AETHERIA VIVAT IN ARCE POLI.

Thank you to Timothy Barnes for his help with the translation of this inscription.

visited in 519, and could have been influenced by the popularity of the cult there, although this is prior to Justinian's renovation of the great church at Kosmidon.⁵⁴ Felix is described as the donor and the belief that the path to his salvation will be eased through the giving of gifts such as this sanctuary is underlined. Further he is actually portrayed in the apse mosaic offering a model of the church to Christ (Figure 5). In the eighth century the connection to care giving was further enhanced when the church was transformed into a deaconry under Hadrian I (722-795).⁵⁵

Part 2: Byzantine liturgical and hagiographic tradition.

In the Byzantine church there were numerous liturgical dates on which the saints were celebrated. For example in Constantinople the main feast dates were July 1, October 17 and November 1. The Syrian Church often used the Byzantine dates of November 1 and July 1 as well as June 16, which was also used by Coptic liturgy.⁵⁶ The Church at Alexandria added November 18. The calendar copied by Georgian monk John Zosimus in the third quarter of the tenth century, reproduced early Palestinian dates from Jerusalem and the monastery of S. Sabas

⁵⁴ Michel van Esbroeck suggests that the influence of Justinian (emperor 527-565) could have had something to do with Felix's interest in the cult. Michel van Esbroeck, "La légende 'romaine' des SS. Côme et Damien (BHG 373d) et sa métaphrase géorgienne par Jean Xiphilin" *Orientalia Cristiana Periodica* 47 (1981) 389-425, 395-398; Felix was thought to be close to Constantinople. Llewellyn, *Rome in the Dark Ages*, 48. See also Kelly, *Oxford Dictionary of Popes*, 55-56.

⁵⁵ In the eighth century the church was converted to a Deaconry under Hadrian I (722-795). "Idem egregius praesul praelatas basilicas, scilicet beati Adriani martyris seu sanctorum Cosme et Damiani, quas noviter restauravit, diaconias constituit..." *LP I*, 509-510. Deaconries were centers for attending to the needs of the poor, the distribution of alms as well as baths. *LP I*, 522, n.110. *SS. Sergio e Baccho* was also transformed at same time. Baldovin, *The Urban Character of Christian Worship*, 116-117.

⁵⁶ June 14 and 17 were also used. Nau, "Martyrologes et ménologes orientaux," 7-163.

and adds a long series of Greek feasts: March 4, July 1 and 19, October 17, 25 and 27, November 1 and 29. A ninth-century calendar from Qennesrin, close geographically to Phereman, cited June 16, April 6, July 7, August 14 and October 12.⁵⁷

As the feasts and locations multiplied through translations and dedications so did the legends. Hippolyte Delehaye points out that when a cult grows so quickly its origins are usually forgotten, particularly in a case like that of SS. Cosmas and Damian who are amongst those saints for whom there exists very little documentary evidence.⁵⁸ Eventually the different hagiographic tales became irreconcilable, a situation that resulted in the belief that there were several groups of SS. Cosmas and Damian.

Certainly by the ninth and tenth centuries in Constantinople, the hagiographic and liturgical traditions were divergent enough that three pairs of saints called Cosmas and Damian were distinguished from one another by Ecclesiastical authorities. In 890 Patriarch Methodius of Constantinople commented on the three pairs of saints and tried to establish a chronology.⁵⁹ The three pairs are also described in the *Basilian Menology* and the *Sirmondian Codex*

⁵⁷ Luongo, "Il 'dossier' agiografico," 67-70. Michel van Esbroeck "La diffusion orientale de la légende des saints Cosme et Damien," *Hagiographie, Culture et sociétés IVe – XIIe siècles*. Actes du colloque organisé à Nanterre et à Paris (2-5 Mai, 1979) (Paris, 1981) 61-77, 72-73.

⁵⁸ Documentary evidence as differentiated from historical notices. Delehaye, *Les Origines du culte des martyrs*, 143. Hippolyte Delehaye, *Les Légendes hagiographiques 4th Ed, Subsidia Hagiographica* 18 (Brussels, 1955) 117-118.

⁵⁹ Parisian Codex Gr. 1470 (890) BHG 377a. Ludwig Deubner, *Kosmas und Damian, Texte und Enleitung* (Berlin, 1907) 41-43.

amongst others.⁶⁰ What is evident is that certainly by the ninth century but probably earlier the Byzantine Church dealt with the numerous of feasts, cult locations and legends through proclaiming three identical copies of the twin saints and codifying the multiplication of the objects of the cult.⁶¹

The confusion is summarized in the July 1 from the *Synaxarium Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae*:

It should be understood that there are three groups of martyrs called Cosmas and Damian, those from Arabia who had their heads cut off by Diocletian, those from Rome who were stoned to death under Carinus, and the sons of Theodote who died peacefully.⁶²

The entry for October 17 provides further information. It is explained that the first pair of saints were the sons of Theodote, a pious woman from Asia, who died in peace and were buried in a place called Phereman. They are celebrated on November 1. The second pair lived in Rome and were martyred under the Emperor Carinus. After having suffered many torments, their miraculous actions converted the emperor and his court to Christianity. Struck by envy, their master lured them to a hill under the pretext of collecting herbs and stoned them to death. They are celebrated July 1. The final pair, honoured October 17 were from

⁶⁰ Also Sirletanium Menology and the Menaeis. *AASS VII*, 435. Delehaye explains that the tenth century Basilian comes to us in manuscripts from the twelfth century on and the Sirmondian is twelfth –thirteenth century. There is dependence on Simeon Metaphrastes in both so they were likely composed after the first half of the 10th C. Hippolyte Delehaye, “Le Synaxaire de Sirmond,” *Analecta Bollandiana* 14 (1895) 396-434.

⁶¹ Luongo, “Il ‘dossier’ agiografico,” 65.

⁶² The *Synaxarium Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae* is dependant on the Sirmondian codex and represents the conclusion of the evolution of the legends. Hippolyte Delehaye, *Synaxarium Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae*, Prop. ad *Acta Sanctorum Novembris* (Brussels, 1902) 791. Delehaye, *Les Légendes hagiographiques*, 76.

Arabia, brothers and doctors who cured many people. They were arrested under Diocletian and Maximian in Licia (a corruption of Cilicia). They were brought before Lysias governor of the city of Aegea and confessed their faith. After numerous torments they were finally beheaded with their three brothers Anthimus, Leontius and Euprepus.⁶³

By this time in Constantinople separate basilicas were dedicated to the worship of the three pairs of saints, corresponding to the different liturgical dates. The basilica called Kosmidon at Blachernae, celebrated the Roman martyrs on July 1.⁶⁴ It should be noted that the tales of the *Libellus miraculorum Cosmae et Damiani* did not distinguish between the three pairs of the saints although there are traces in the miracles of the narratives that become those of the Arab and Asiatic saints.⁶⁵

A second church dedicated to SS. Cosmas and Damian built in 569 by Emperor Justinian II and his wife Sophia, celebrated the feast of the patrons with a procession on November 1. The Cosmas and Damian in question were the Asian doctors, the confessor sons of Theodote.⁶⁶

⁶³ *Synaxarium Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae*, 144-146. Luongo, "Il 'dossier' agiografico," 34.

⁶⁴ Janin, *La Géographie Ecclésiastique*, 284-289. *Synaxarium Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae*, 791. Luongo, "Il 'dossier' agiografico," 65. Van Esbroeck "La diffusion orientale de la légende des saints Cosme et Damien," 70-71.

⁶⁵ Luongo, "Il 'dossier' agiografico" 83. Festugière assumes that the early miracles refer to the Asian saints, but they were not martyrs and martyrs are mentioned. The Roman pair are not mentioned in the text so the only martyrs would have been the ones from Cyrrhestia described in MCD 12. Festugière, *Collections Greques de Miracles*, 92 n.4.

⁶⁶ North east of the Sophian Gate. *De caeremoniis* of Constantino Porfirogenito says the imperial court went there on Nov. 1 for the feast of the Anargyri. Luongo, "Il 'dossier' agiografico," 39. Janin, *La Géographie Ecclésiastique*, 284-285. *Synaxarium Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae*, 186.

There is no topographic indicator for the third group, the five Arab saints celebrated on October 17.⁶⁷ It is possible they were attached to the remaining early church dedicated to SS. Cosmas and Damian in Constantinople, the church at Zeugma, built by the patriarch Proclus (434-446).⁶⁸

This triplication of the saints was reinforced in the first modern look at the cult begun by the Austrian Jesuit Simon Wangnereck and finished in 1660 by his compatriot Reinhold Dehn.⁶⁹ From that time the hagiographic legends of SS. Cosmas and Damian have been associated with one of the three pairs of saints and identified as the *Vita Asiatica*, *Passio Romana* and *Passio Arabica*.⁷⁰ Many of the texts first published by Wangnereck and Dehn were re-edited and published by Ludwig Deubner in 1907 who also kept to the three distinct groups of legends.⁷¹

The *Vita Asiatica* (BHG 372) was the tale of the lives of two confessor saints, sons of Theodote, who were buried at Phereman and celebrated in Constantinople on November 1.⁷² This version of the legend was very common.⁷³

⁶⁷ Luongo, "Il 'dossier' agiografico," 65.

⁶⁸ Described in the twelfth century by an anonymous Englishman (S. G. Mercati, Sanctuari). Janin, *La Géographie Ecclésiastique*, 285. *AASS VII*, 440.

⁶⁹ Simon Wangnereck and Reinhold Dehn, *Syntagmatis historici, seu Veterum Graeciae monumentorum, de tribus sanctorum anargyrorum Cosmae et Damiani nomine paribus, partes duae ... potissimum ex manuscriptis a clarissimo viro Leone Allatio Roma transmissis, cum interpretatione latina R.P.Simonis Wangnereckii ... Reinoldus Dehnius ... ea quae P. Wangnereckii obitu imperfecta remanserant absolvit, notis illustravit, praefatione apologetica munivit*. Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1660.

⁷⁰ Dehn publishes a life of Asian Confessors (BHG 372), a mutilated Roman Passion (BHG 376) following a canon of Joseph the Hymnograph and the Arab passion (BHG 379) accompanied by a collection of 29 miracles (BHG 386-389). Also BHG 380, BHG 383, BHG 381. Van Esbroeck "La diffusion orientale de la légende des saints Cosme et Damien," 62-63.

⁷¹ Ludwig Deubner, *Kosmas und Damian*, 3-83.

⁷² Deubner explains the name Theodote is the same as that of a daughter of Anastasia martyred with SS. Cyrus and John on January 31. Deubner, *Kosmas und Damian*, 47.

The story took place in an imaginary time, under the reign of Christ. The saints received a Christian education from their mother, but the Holy Spirit taught them to heal people and animals. Included in their healing was the episode of the woman called Palladia, who having spent all her money searching for a cure for her disease, was finally cured by the saints. In gratitude she gave Damian three eggs unbeknownst to Cosmas. In response Cosmas refused to be buried with his brother. Eventually Damian died and Cosmas continued to heal, one of his patients was a lame camel. When Cosmas eventually died and was about to be interred separately from his brother, the camel appeared and revealed Cosmas' retraction. In this legend the two saints were buried together at Phereman.

The Life was followed by two miracles that also took place at Phereman. The first was the peasant who inadvertently ate a snake and then was healed after a visit to the saints' shrine and the story of Malchus who left his wife under the protection of the saints. The Devil appeared to her in the guise of a messenger from her husband and convinced her to follow him. The devil then tried to throw her off her horse into a ravine and the saints appeared as horsemen and saved her from danger.⁷⁴

⁷³ There are c.100 manuscripts, the earliest from the eighth century and many from the tenth to the thirteenth century. Van Esbroeck, "La diffusion orientale de la légende des saints Cosme et Damien," 69-70.

⁷⁴ The miracles also appear in the *Libellus miraculorum* edited by Deubner but take place in Constantinople. Deubner, *Kosmas und Damian*, 87-96. Luongo "Il 'dossier' agiografico," 47-49. Van Esbroeck, "La diffusion orientale de la légende des saints Cosme et Damien," 62-63.

The *Passio Romana* (BHG 376) was the story of martyrs under Emperor Carinus who were celebrated July 1.⁷⁵ It began with a brief biography indicating the saints' medical profession and their evangelical work, but did not mention family or country of origin. The main part of the text involved the denunciation of the brothers to the Emperor Carinus, when they were accused of practicing magic. The inhabitants of the village hid the saints who passed the time praying in a cave. Afterward, to save the villagers taken hostage by the Imperial messengers, Cosmas and Damian appeared spontaneously and were taken to the palace to face the Emperor. After a long defence of Christianity in front of the Emperor they twisted Carinus' head backwards. He ended up confessing his faith and gave orders to demolish the temples of the gods. The saints were then killed by their former teacher of medicine who was overcome by jealousy. He lured them to a mountain, hit them with stones and threw their bodies into a gorge. There were no collections of miracles associated with this version.⁷⁶

The *Passio Arabica* (BHG 378) celebrated Arab martyrs in Constantinople and existed in two distinct versions.⁷⁷ The first was in the form of a trial in the time of Diocletian and Maximian in the city of Aegea (in the district

⁷⁵ Luongo explains the text comes from five manuscripts, two of which are securely from the Italo-Byzantine period: Vat. 866 (which includes a concordance table for the legends) and *Messanensis* 30. Vat. 866 also includes the *Passio Arabica*. Vat. 679 one of the other manuscripts also includes the *Vita Asiatica* while the *Messanensis* 30 and Paris 1470 only report the *Passio Romana*. This is about as close as he gets for a date on the manuscripts. Luongo, "Il 'dossier' agiografico," 49.

⁷⁶ Luongo, "Il 'dossier' agiografico," 49-51. Van Esbroeck, "La diffusion orientale de la légende des saints Cosme et Damien" 63.

⁷⁷ Luongo said it is transmitted in two compilations, the first is documented in two codexes from the Italo-byzantine period, Vat. 866 and Vat. 2072. The second is only from Barberinus VI 22. Luongo, "Il 'dossier' agiografico," 52.

of Yumurtalik) on the November 25 before Lysias, prefect of Cilicia, in the temple of Hadrian. When interrogated Cosmas and Damian declared themselves to be from Arabia and to be doctors by profession. They gave the names of their three brothers as Anthimus, Leontius and Euprepus. Following the pattern of many passions they were tortured in various ways and admonished by the judge, who wanted to learn the magic arts from the saints but use them in the name of his god. They survived being thrown in the sea and being burnt by fire. They were crucified and the stones and arrows aimed at them turned back on the throwers. Finally they are decapitated.⁷⁸ Collections of miracles exist associated with this version.⁷⁹

The second version of the *Passio Arabica* (BHG 379), which fixed the *dies natalis* of the five saints to October 17, was an amplified version of the previous text. During the passion long apologetic discourses by the martyrs and long prayers inspired by the psalms are incorporated. The judge is punished so that only the martyrs were able to heal him with prayer. When captured the five brothers were found hidden in caves praying to the cross.⁸⁰

Since Wangnereck and Dehn much of the writing on SS. Cosmas and Damian has been occupied trying to determine which of the three main versions of the legend is the oldest and therefore the closest to the original rendition of the life of the saints. One hundred years after their work in 1760, Johannes Stilting,

⁷⁸ Luongo, "Il 'dossier' agiografico," 52-53. Van Esbroeck, "La diffusion orientale de la légende des saints Cosme et Damien," 63. Deubner, *Kosmas und Damian*, 218-220. *AASS VII*, 469-471.

⁷⁹ Van Esbroeck, "La diffusion orientale de la légende des saints Cosme et Damien," 63.

⁸⁰ Luongo, "Il 'dossier' agiografico," 53. Deubner, *Kosmas und Damian*, 220-225.

writing the entry for the saints in the seventh volume of the *Acta Sanctorum*, examined the vast amount of evidence on the cult again.⁸¹ While recognising the three versions of the legend, he believed there to be only one pair of saints and the triplication to be the result of the evolution of the legend. Diverse festivals grew up from people celebrating different days associated with the saints, including their birth, the translation of their relics, and dedications of sanctuaries.⁸² Stilling believed the *Passio Arabica* to be the earliest judging it on par with the proconsular acts, although he felt it had likely been edited and adjusted by Christians.⁸³ Stilling was surely motivated in part by the fact that it is the *Arabica* version that became dominant in the Latin literature. As in later Christian writing on the cult, he presupposes the actual existence of a pair of saints and is concerned with the discovery of the true origins of the cult and the actual resting place of their bodies.

The choice of the *Passio Arabica* as the true legend caused Stilling some trouble with the historical evidence that locates the tomb at Cyrrhus because the *Arabica* legend places the martyrdom of the saints in Aegea. He believed the saints were martyred in Aegea around 287 in the time of Diocletian and Maximian under Lysias. At the same time he was convinced by the proof of an

⁸¹ *AASS VII*, 429-478.

⁸² *AASS VII*, 435-438.

⁸³ *AASS VII*, 431.

early sepulchre at Cyrrhus. His compromise was that perhaps they were first buried in Cilicia near Aegea, but were then taken to Cyrrhus shortly afterward.⁸⁴

Ludwig Deubner, in 1907, returned to Dehn's order and believed the earliest legend to be the *Vita Asiatica*, attached to the sanctuary in Constantinople and celebrated on November 1. He thought the *Passio Arabica* had Roman origins because there was an absence of liturgy in the Byzantine church for the legend and it was the version that continued in the Latin tradition. As the cult penetrated into Rome in the fifth century a legend was created for the audience corresponding to taste that favoured the martyrial model rather than that of the confessor.⁸⁵ The *Martyrium Romanum* on the other hand may have represented the Byzantine response to the *Passio Arabica*. Jealousy for Rome's veneration of healing martyrs resulted in the transformation of the old Asiatic confessors into martyrs. He assigns the *Vita Asiatica* to the fourth century, the *Martyrium Arabicum* to the fifth century and the *Martyrium Romanum* to the sixth century.⁸⁶

Gennaro Luongo in his more recent examination of the hagiographic dossier of SS. Cosmas and Damian pointed out that the three established versions of the legend of SS. Cosmas and Damian were probably all the result of a lengthy legendizing process and expressions of local tradition. He explained that the Asian legend followed the mature Middle Eastern and Byzantine model of the ascetic saint who cured miraculously on a biblical model. The mother Theodote

⁸⁴ Although there was an important church to SS. Cosmas and Damian in Aegea, there is no record of the bodies being there *AASS VII*, 438-439.

⁸⁵ Deubner, *Kosmas und Damian*, 59

⁸⁶ Deubner, *Kosmas und Damian*, 79-83.

represented the ideal model of the Christian mother and was often represented in Christian biography.⁸⁷

The *Passio Arabica*, was a typical product of martyrial literature. The excessive use of the torments, the accusation of magic, the number of the five brothers, the brief notice of the medical profession, the threat of death by drowning are common to other passions set in Cilicia and the name of Lysias is also protagonist of many passions of the region.⁸⁸ Further Luongo believed the *Passio Arabica* and also the mixed Asiatic-Arabic type with Theodote and her five sons to be particularly dependent on hagiographic antecedents. Because of the secondary role played by the three brothers of the saints, Anthimus, Euprepus and Leontius, he hypothesizes that the *Passio Arabica* probably developed from the importation of the two medical saints merged with a passion involving local martyrs with Greek names.⁸⁹

Finally, in the Roman legend there was the historic improbability of Emperor Carinus, not only being baptised by Felix, but imposing the destruction of the pagan temples and the construction of churches.⁹⁰ It was a composite text in three sections, one was a generic presentation of medical people who loved the poor, one was modelled on genre of acts of martyrs and the third was the killing of the saints by the hand of their former master in ambush.⁹¹

⁸⁷ Reminiscent of the mother of the Baptist. Luongo, "Il 'dossier' agiografico," 47-49, 81-82.

⁸⁸ Luongo, "Il 'dossier' agiografico," 52-53. Also Deubner, *Kosmas und Damian*, 62.

⁸⁹ Luongo, "Il 'dossier' agiografico," 81.

⁹⁰ Luongo, "Il 'dossier' agiografico," 60-61.

⁹¹ Luongo, "Il 'dossier' agiografico," 49-51.

In search of the original legend, Luongo points to the research of Michel van Esbroeck. Van Esbroeck has explained that texts more recently brought to light show that mixed Arab-Asiatic versions and the Roman-Asiatic versions of the legend, might be the earliest and that the separation of the three pairs of saints by the Greeks isolated stories that were secondary with respect to the original tale.⁹²

The first mixed text brought to light was a Syrian legend (BHO 210) that was particularly interesting because it was recorded in a manuscript from the fifth or sixth century, the earliest existing manuscript for the legend of SS. Cosmas and Damian.⁹³ In this version, the doctors Cosmas and Damian worked alternately in a dispensary. One day when Damian was alone he ran out of the eggs kept in the dispensary that were given to sick people. A rich man gave him eggs to help out. When Cosmas returned and Damian told him what happened he swore they would not be buried together. Then there are two miraculous healings. The tale follows on to the denunciation, capture and trial of the saints in front of the emperor Carinus. Eventually the Emperor converts and orders the destruction of pagan temples and the building of churches for the Christians. The saints returned to their home and after some time Cosmas, before dying first of a natural death, said a long prayer, asking God to keep working at his tomb. A miracle of a

⁹² Van Esbroeck analyses the existing documents in, "La diffusion orientale de la légende des saints Cosme et Damien," 69-70.

⁹³ British Museum Add. 14644. It was published in P. Bedjan, *Acta martyrum et sanctorum VI* (Paris, 1896) 107-119. Brought to attention by Paul Maas, *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 17 (1908) 609-613 and translated into German by W. Weih, *Die syrische Kosmas-und-Damien-Legende* (Schweinfurt, 1910-1911) 5-25.

woman being cured of an ulcer followed this immediately. Damian then died and was interred in a different tomb.⁹⁴ The Asian elements of the eggs and the natural death of the saints are here associated with the Roman episode of the trial in front of Emperor Carinus, but Rome is never mentioned explicitly.⁹⁵

Some of the elements of this version appear in the *Chronographia* of the Byzantine historian John Malalas in the sixth century. According to Malalas Emperor Carinus was on a military expedition in Cyrrhestia organized to avenge the death of his brother Numerian. During a winter break in the campaign Carinus had a neck problem that his doctors were unable to heal. Eventually he accepted a secret offer from the two saints who cured him under cover of night. Carinus then gave an edict of tolerance for Christians extending over the Empire. After the Emperor had left Cyrrhestia, the saints were killed by their medical master who driven by jealousy took them up the mountains and threw them off a precipice.⁹⁶

Another mixed version was published by W.E. Crum in 1908. In this Egyptian legend the doctors Cosmas and Damian, originally from Dabarma in Arabia, lived with their widowed mother Theodote and three monk brothers in a castle built in the name of the Son of God.⁹⁷ The episode of the healing of

⁹⁴ Luongo explains that the two names are confused in manuscripts, in cod. B the older one, Cosmas accepts the egg and dies first; Cod. A is closer to the *Vita Asiatica*. Luongo, "Il 'dossier' agiografico," 57-58.

⁹⁵ Van Esbroeck, "La diffusion orientale de la légende des saints Cosme et Damien," 64-65.

⁹⁶ Joannis Malalae, *Chronographia*, PG 97, 459-462. Luongo also points out that SS. Cosmas and Damian cure Emperor Carinus in the life of St. Sampson the Hospitaler, Luongo, "Il 'dossier' agiografico," 43-44.

⁹⁷ The legend is from fragments of a 1000 AD Coptic text and some later texts. W.E. Crum, "Place-Names in Deubner's *Kosmas und Damian*," *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology* 30 (1908) 129-136. Van Esbroeck believes a possible source is BHL 1970. Van Esbroeck, "La diffusion orientale de la légende des saints Cosme et Damien," 66.

Palladia and the eggs and the talking camel were included. Under the persecutions of Diocletian, Cosmas and Damian were brought to Antioch and tried before Lysias. They were tortured as were their brothers, who had brought to Antioch as well. Theodote was executed and buried. The five brothers were also executed. The Life was followed by seven miracles including the peasant and the snake and Malchus' wife and the devil.⁹⁸ Here the Asiatic elements of the eggs, camel and mother called Theodote were mixed with the Arabic plot of the five brothers.⁹⁹ W.E. Crum identifies the place Phereman with the names Tatharma in Coptic and Dabarma in Arabic. This place can be located near Cyrrhus according to a Greek manuscript from the tenth or eleventh century edited by Ernst Rupprecht.¹⁰⁰

Two further texts followed this tradition close to both the Syrian and the Roman legends. The first was an anonymous Greek manuscript (BHG 373d) that acted as a source for the second, an eleventh-century text by John Xilphilinos. The author of BHG 373d stated he knew of the existence of three pairs of saints called Cosmas and Damian, but gave the *Passio Romana* in which the doctor saints were tried before Emperor Carinus. Here Rome was named specifically and when Carinus converted to Christianity he was baptised by a Pope Felix. The

⁹⁸ The miracles appear again in codex from the Pierpont-Morgan collection in New York, attached to another Coptic-Arab version of the legend. The miracles take place specifically at Tatharma and invoke all five brothers. Codex M 856. Van Esbroeck, "La diffusion orientale de la légende des saints Cosme et Damien" 66-67. Van Esbroeck, "La légende 'romaine'" (1981) 391.

⁹⁹ There is a long episode about the apostasy of Diocletian that is common to other Middle Eastern stories. Celebrated 18 November. Luongo, "Il 'dossier' agiografico," 59.

¹⁰⁰ Ernestus Rupprecht, *Cosmae et Damiani Sanctorum Medicorum Vitam et Miracula E Codice Londonensi* (Berlin, 1935). Halkin, "Publications Récentes de Textes Hagiographiques Greques" 366-381.

saints died through the jealousy of their former master. The healing of those possessed by demons in the end caused the discovery of their bodies and cult developed paradoxically from West to East. They were celebrated on July 1.¹⁰¹ The Xiphilinos version, which was known through a later Georgian manuscript was very similar, however the baptism by Felix was omitted.¹⁰²

The biggest paradox identified by Van Esbroeck is the complete absence of the Asian and Arab legends in Syrian areas, and the absence in Rome itself of the so-called Roman legend that was present only in Byzantium. He proposed BHG 373d as one of the earliest versions of the tale, and hypothesized that a lost precursor to this version existed in both the Roman and Middle Eastern environments. In terms of the true legend he presented what he calls a *portrait robot* in which he tried at length, somewhat implausibly, to reconcile the various traditions.¹⁰³

Based on the manuscripts that have come to light so far, the most reasonable conclusion is that the form of the legend in the fifth century Syriac manuscript, with corroboration of some details provided in the sixth century by John Malalas, represents a very early version of the Life of SS. Cosmas and Damian. Luongo explains the other versions can then be seen in a different light.

¹⁰¹ The Greek text is from codex of Oxford Laud. 82, fol. 268v-277v. Van Esbroeck, "La légende 'romaine'" (1981) 400-425. Because of an episode mentioned common only to the Syrian manuscript (BHO 210) Van Esbroeck postulates a common archetype from before the fifth century in which the Emperor offers the imperial insignia to the saints, who refuse it. Van Esbroeck, "La légende 'romaine'" (1981) 397.

¹⁰² The legend of SS. Cosmas and Damian belongs to the part of the Georgian codex securely attributed to Xiphilin. Van Esbroeck, "La légende 'romaine'" (1981) 392-394. The text is in Michel van Esbroeck, "La légende 'romaine' de SS. Côme et Damien (BHG 373d) et sa métaphore géorgienne par Jean Xiphilin" *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 48 (1982) 29-64.

¹⁰³ Van Esbroeck, "La diffusion orientale de la légende des saints Cosme et Damien" 69-73.

The *Passio Romana* makes the idea of martyrdom more explicit in the narrative and the *Arabic* version of the tale further normalizes the events of the lives of the saints according to the canon of martyrial literature, by describing an elaborate passion for Cosmas and Damian.¹⁰⁴

Hippolyte Delehayé cautions about confusing history with legend, something that is particularly easy for saints like Cosmas and Damian for whom there exists little proof outside of legend. Most of the manuscripts that survive for study were copied centuries after the historical period in which the saints emerged and they contain much standard hagiographic material.¹⁰⁵ Cosmas and Damian were popular and the cult grew rapidly obscuring its historic origins with myth. In fact their popularity was likely enhanced by the fact that there was little known about them, they were more flexible as objects of worship and could function easily in varying circumstances. As Mango points out many popular saints in the Byzantine pantheon were fictitious or transformed so much as to have lost any historical dimension.¹⁰⁶ The ambiguity of the historical background of the saints and their identity as doctors made them ideal replacements for the pagan healers that were revered before them.

¹⁰⁴ Luongo, "Il 'dossier' agiografico," 82-83.

¹⁰⁵ For example Diocletian, the most common persecutor, the preference for martyrdom and the events of the martyrdom itself and the idea of talking animals stating the place of burial. Talking animals occur in stories about Theodore of Syceote and Menas. Delehayé, *Les Légendes hagiographiques*, 12-56.

¹⁰⁶ Cyril Mango, "New Religion, Old Culture," Cyril Mango, ed. *The Oxford History of Byzantium* (Oxford, 2002) 96-120, 114.

Part 3: Latin liturgical and hagiographic tradition.

In order to determine when the cult of the saints entered the Roman liturgical calendar some of the evidence needs to be reviewed. As in the East the first liturgical date is provided by an omission. SS. Cosmas and Damian do not appear in the *Depositio martyrum*. The *Philocalian Calendar* of 354 containing the *Depositio episcoporum* and the *Depositio martyrum* is the oldest existing Roman calendar.¹⁰⁷ However, they do appear in the *Hieronymian Martyrology*, from the fifth or sixth century.¹⁰⁸ Victor Saxer uses both the *Philocalian Calendar* and the *Hieronymian Martyrology* in compiling his Roman Sanctoral for the fourth and fifth centuries. He includes 127 saints and lists SS. Cosmas and Damian on September 27, however he points out that they do only occur in the later source.¹⁰⁹ From the time of the *Depositiones* to the emergence of the *Hieronymian Martyrology* the saints' days recognised in Rome triple in number and it is in this period that Cosmas and Damian must have been added to the Roman calendar.¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁷ For the text of the *Depositio Martyrum* see *MGH IX* (1892) 255-352. Few non-Roman martyrs are included in the *Philocalian Calendar*, they are Perpetua and Felicity and the bishop martyr Cyprian. Luongo, "Il 'dossier' agiografico," 62. Baldovin, *The Urban Character of Christian Worship*, 119-120

¹⁰⁸ Hieronymian, so named because of two apocryphal letters to/from St. Jerome that preceded it. Although thought to be based on an earlier Eastern martyrology, a Roman calendar and an African calendar much of it was composed in the mid fifth century in Northern Italy. Jaques Dubois, "Martyrologe," *Martyrologes: d'Usuard au Martyrologe romain* (Abbeville, 1990) 3-16.

¹⁰⁹ Victor Saxer, "L'Utilisation par la liturgie de l'espace urbain et suburbain: l'exemple de Rome dans l'antiquité et le haut moyen âge," *Actes du XI^e Congrès International D'Archéologie Chrétienne*. Lyon, Vienne, Grenoble, Genève et Aoste 21-218 Sept. 1986 (Rome, 1989) 917-1032, 990

¹¹⁰ The *Depositiones* include 12 days for bishops and 31 for martyrs, in the *Hieronymian Martyrology* there are 21 bishops, 90 martyrs and 20 others. Saxer, "L'Utilisation par la liturgie de l'espace urbain" 921-923.

September 27 is the date given in the *Hieronymian Martyrology*. In his commentary on the martyrology, Delehaye argues that the entry and the date of September 27 were both related to the dedication of the church of SS. *Cosma e Damiano* in the Forum under Felix IV.¹¹¹ As the earliest surviving manuscript of the *Hieronymian Martyrology* is Gallic and from the late sixth century, some time after the dedication of the Roman church, it cannot be shown either that SS. Cosmas and Damian appeared in it prior to 530, or that they appeared under another date.¹¹² The saints do not appear in the earliest notices in the martyrology attributed to the time of Pope Damasus (366-384).¹¹³ They also were not included in the *Syrian Martyrology* of 411 which is thought to depend on the same Greek source as the *Hieronymian Martyrology*.¹¹⁴

The only record of a September date occurring outside the West is in the mosaic decorations of the dome of the church of *Hagios Georgios* in Thessalonike, which place Cosmas and Damian in September but do not specify a day. This either dates those mosaics to later than 530 when the church in Rome was dedicated or indicates the presence of an earlier source used by the Roman

¹¹¹ Delehaye records that the 29th was the actual date of the dedication, but the 27th was the date chosen for the feast. Hippolyte Delehaye, *Commentarius perpetuus in martyrologium Hieronymianum. Ad recensioem H. Quentin, AASS, Nov. II* (Brussels, 1931), 528-529.

¹¹² The Hieronymian Martyrology was composed in Northern Italy in the mid fifth century but the earliest surviving manuscript is from c.592 at Auxerre at which time quite a few saints were added. Dubois, "Martyrologe," 7. Luongo, "Il 'dossier' agiografico," 64-65.

¹¹³ Victor Saxer, "Damase et le calendrier des fêtes de martyrs de l'église Romaine." *Saecularia Damasiana: atti del Convegno internazionale per il XVI centenario della morte di papa Damaso I. Studi di antichità cristiana* 39 (Vatican City, 1986) 61-88.

¹¹⁴ Dubois, "Martyrologe," 6.

church to select a date to celebrate the dedication of the church.¹¹⁵ The liturgical calendar or martyrology that served as the source for the saints portrayed in the mosaics of Hagios Giorgios has yet to be identified.¹¹⁶ If an earlier source did exist using September that could have affected the *Hieronymian Martyrology* as well. Although the saints were certainly known in Rome several decades earlier than 526-530 at the time of Pope Symmachus, most writers agree that the saints entered the Roman calendar on September 27 at the time of dedication of the church in the Forum.¹¹⁷

By the sixth century SS. Cosmas and Damian were included in the *Communicantes* of the Canon of the Roman Mass. Again, their names were probably inserted in the Canon at the time of the dedication of their church in the forum, ca. 530.¹¹⁸ The *Gelasian Sacramentary*, which likely originates in the early sixth century, includes a mass for the dedication of the basilica in Rome

¹¹⁵ Luongo suggests the shared date reflects the intensity of relations between the Macedonian city and Italy in the Theodosian period. Luongo, "Il 'dossier' agiografico," 63. Not all the saints in *Hagios Giorgios* are represented with dates that match the Roman celebrations. For example S. Eucarpione is listed in December while his Roman date is November.

¹¹⁶ The dates do not match the Syrian Breviary/Martyrology, the Hieronymian Martyrology or the standard calendars of Constantinople as in the Menology of Basil II.

¹¹⁷ Kennedy believes the entry in the *Hieronymian Martyrology* to be related to the dedication of the Roman Church and agrees with Delehaye's reconstruction of the entry. V.L. Kennedy, *The Saints of the Canon of the Mass*. Studi di Antichità Christiana 14 (Rome, 1938) 138-139. Pierre Jounel, *Le Culte des Saints dans les Basiliques du Latran et du Vatican au douzième siècle* (Rome, 1977) 293. Luongo, "Il 'dossier' agiografico," 63.

¹¹⁸ Kennedy, *The Saints of the Canon of the Mass*, 137-140.

commemorated on September 27.¹¹⁹ By the seventh century SS. Cosmas and Damian appeared in most Roman calendars on September 27.¹²⁰

The church of SS. Cosmas and Damian was well established in the civic liturgy of Rome when in 590 Pope Gregory I, facing an epidemic, used the church of SS. Cosmas and Damian as one of the meeting places in a *letania septiformis* terminating at *Santa Maria Maggiore*.¹²¹ Gregory of Tours describes the service and the various meeting places in *Historia Francorum* pointing out that the clergy met at SS. Cosmas and Damian, the abbots and monks at SS. Gervase and Protase, the abbesses and their congregations at SS. Marcellinus and Peter, and the children at SS. John and Paul.¹²²

This is also the time some or all of the relics of SS. Cosmas and Damian and their three brothers are believed to have been translated to Rome. An inscription on a piece of marble in the church ascribes the translation to Gregory I: "Beneath the high altar rest the bodies of the martyrs Cosmas and Damian and

¹¹⁹Kennedy, *The Saints of the Canon of the Mass*, 138-139. The mid-eighth century Vatican manuscript is the oldest known Roman sacramentary with a calendar (Vat. Reg. Lat. 316). It and other eighth century Gelasians contain the Roman Canon of the Mass. F.L. Cross and E. A. Livingstone, eds., *Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church* (Oxford, 1997) 657.

¹²⁰Aside from the Gelasian and Gregorian Sacramentaries, they are in both the Vatican and Lateran Calendars and appear in nine of the twelve unedited Roman Calendars included in Pierre Jounel's book. Jounel, *Le Culte des Saints dans les Basiliques du Latran et du Vatican*, 53-91, 123-203, 293. *AASS VII*, 428.

¹²¹A letter from 591 refers to the Letania major as a familiar practice in Rome and a 599 letter says the Letania was of great antiquity. Baldovin, *The Urban Character of Christian Worship*, 158-159.

¹²²*Gregory of Tours, Historia Francorum X.I. PL 71*, 528-529.

Baldovin lists the meeting places for 590 and 603:

	590	603	
I	SS. Cosmas and Damian	The Lateran	Clergy
II	SS. Gervase and Protase	SS. John and Paul	Monks
III	SS. Marcellinus and Peter	SS. Cosmas and Damian	Nuns
IV	SS. John and Paul	S. Cecilia	Children

Baldovin, *The Urban Character of Christian Worship*, 158.

Saints Antimus, Euprepus and Leontius, brothers of the saints Cosmas and Damian, deposited by the blessed Gregory the First."¹²³ Historian Bernardino Mezzadri first recorded the inscription in the eighteenth century and indeed he believed it to be ancient but it has not yet been discovered in earlier sources.¹²⁴ As Stilling points out in the *Acta Sanctorum* this is contemporary with claims at Cyrrhus to be the location of the tomb of the saints and with the miracle tales that describe relics in Constantinople. He is reluctant to date the arrival of the relics but states that there was a belief in relics at the site at least since the time of Gregory I.¹²⁵

The *Gregorian Sacramentary* also includes the saints.¹²⁶ The *Hadrianum*, the version of the *Gregorian Sacramentary* sent to Charlemagne in 790, contains a mass on September 27 and a *collecta* beginning at the church of SS. Cosmas and Damian in the forum on November 1 ending at S. Cesarius on the Palatine.¹²⁷ The *collecta* must have had Byzantine roots, as November 1 was one of the days SS. Cosmas and Damian were celebrated in Constantinople and S. Cesarius was

¹²³Inscription as follows, "*Sub altare majus requiescunt corpora sanctorum Martyrum Cosmæ & Damiani, ac Sanctorum Antimi, Leontii & Euprepii fratrum germanorum eorumdem Sanctorum Cosmæ, & Damiani, posita a Beato Gregorio primo.*"

¹²⁴ It was recorded in the eighteenth century and is described by Mezzadri. Bernardinus Mezzadri, *Disquisitio Historica de sanctis martyribus Cosma, et Damiano in duas partes distributa, in quarum prima SS. Martyrum Acta continentur; in altera expenduntur monumenta Basilica, quæ ipfif in Urbe erecta est.* (Rome, 1747).

¹²⁵ *AASS VII*, 443.

¹²⁶ Gregorian Sacramentary is the name given to a family of sacramentaries traditionally ascribed to Pope Gregory I. The most important is the *Hadrianum*, sent by Hadrian I to Charlemagne in 790 (a copy from 811 or 812 exists at Cambrai). Although the existing manuscripts are later, the Gregorian was probably complete from early seventh century. Baldovin, *The Urban Character of Christian Worship*, 127-129.

¹²⁷For both the *Hadrianum* and the *Paduensis* (in which SS. Cosmas and Damian are celebrated on the same days) see Jean Deshusses, *Le Sacrementaire Grégorien, ses principales formes d'après les plus anciens manuscrits* (Fribourg, 1971).

on the Palatine, the seat of Imperial administration in Rome. It is also probable that this date was part of the civic liturgy from the sixth century.¹²⁸ The use of November 1 demonstrates that the Byzantine observances associated with SS. Cosmas and Damian were known in Rome. It is also reasonable to imagine that at least some of the hagiographic legends were known as well; November 1 was associated with the *Vita Asiatica* in Constantinople.

The date of September 27 does not provide any indication as to which version of the hagiographic legend was in use at the church dedicated to SS. Cosmas and Damian in the forum in the early sixth century. The hagiographic history is further complicated by the entry in the *Hieronymian Martyrology*, which itself exists in several different versions. Delehaye edits the martyrology in the *Acta Sanctorum* and he distinguishes two main families of the text from the early manuscripts. His entry for SS. Cosmas and Damian is on September 27 and reflects the diversity of the Byzantine hagiographic tradition. In the first family of manuscripts Cosmas and Damian are listed in *Bizantium* and are described as Roman martyrs in the city of *Egas*. In the second family they are born in *Aducia*, in the city of *Egia*.¹²⁹ Various corruptions of Cilicia and Aegea appear in most manuscripts. In the second family, the *Wisseburgensis* has only *Aducia* as a birthplace of the brothers, whereas the *Bernensis* says, *aducie civitate egia* and includes one of the brothers of the saints, *Legonti* (Leontius). The

¹²⁸ It was one of six *collecta* in the *Hadrianum*, likely established in the sixth century shortly after the church of SS. Cosma e Damiano was built. Baldovin, *The Urban Character of Christian Worship*, 160. Kennedy, *The Saints of the Canon of the Mass*, 139. Luongo, "Il 'dossier' agiografico," 63.

¹²⁹ Delehaye, *Commentarius*, *AASS Nov II*, 528-529.

Richenoviensis, reports under Byzantium all the names of the five martyr saints:

*Cosmae et Damiani, Antimi, Leontii et Eutropii.*¹³⁰

The variations found in manuscripts of the *Hieronymian Martyrology* reflect traces of the *Passio Arabica* that can be found in the saints martyred in the Cilician city of Aegea and in the mention of the three brothers of the saints. It is also possible that traces of the *Passio Romana* can be found in the use of the word *Romani*, but unlike the *Arabica* and *Asiatica*, elements of this legend do not find favour in Latin hagiography.¹³¹

The earliest *passio* of SS. Cosmas and Damian in the West, provided by Gregory of Tours (538-594), also represents a version of the Arab passion. Gregory includes the saints in *De Gloria Martyrum* in which he groups the saints geographically. Cosmas and Damian are included amongst the Arab saints. The positioning of Cosmas and Damian as both Arabs and martyrs supports the belief that the biography of the saints current at this time was closest to the version found in the *Passio Arabica*.¹³² Gregory's brief life of the saints describes the twins as skilled doctors. After they were converted to Christianity they were able to heal through virtue and the intervention of prayers. They were perfected through various tortures and then reunited in heaven and performed many

¹³⁰ First family is cod. Epternacensis, Dubois calls it Echternach says early 8th C (Paris, BN lat. 10837); The second family is represented by the Wissemburgensis and the Bernensis (Wolfenbüttel, ms. Wissemb. 23 and Berne ms. 289). Dubois, "Martyrologe," 7-8. Luongo, "Il 'dossier' agiografico," 63-64. *AASS VII*, 428.

¹³¹ Van Esbroeck, "La légende 'romaine'" (1981) 395-398. Van Esbroeck, "La diffusion orientale de la légende des saints Cosme et Damien," 70.

¹³² Gregory of Tours knew the church in Rome, as is shown by his mention of it when he was describing the sermon by Pope Gregory I. *AASS VII*, 437.

miracles.¹³³ Gregory also had relics of SS. Cosmas and Damian at Tours that he describes as being deposited in the little room dedicated to St. Martin adjoining the church.¹³⁴ Gregory did get many relics from Rome but those of Cosmas and Damian are not mentioned specifically.¹³⁵

In the inscription at the Roman basilica, claims are made to have relics of all five brothers as in the *Arabica* tradition. By the ninth century, when a vestment was given to the church by Pope Paschal I (817-824), the brothers of Cosmas and Damian were included again indicating that the version of the tale describing the five martyr brothers from Aegea was used at the time. The vestment is described as having on it an image of Christ, as well as the martyrs Cosmas and Damian "...with their other three brothers...."¹³⁶

From this early stage, the history of the hagiography in the Latin literature differed significantly from the Greek. The multiplication of the saints and their feasts did not occur. The evolution of the legend can be seen through several texts Johannes Stilling published in the *Acta Sanctorum*. The first group of Acta were originally edited and published by Bonino Mombrozio in the fifteenth century.¹³⁷

¹³³ Gregory of Tours, *Glory of the Martyrs*, 97, Raymond Van Dam, trans. (Liverpool, 1988) 122. Also *Miraculorum Lib. I. De Gloria Martyrum*. 97, PL 71, 791. Gregory of Tours, *In glor. mart.* Krusch, ed. *MGH Merov. I/2* (1885) 103-104.

¹³⁴ "In cellula sancti Martini ecclesia ipsi contigua, sanctorum Cosmae et Damiani martyrum reliquias posui," *Historia Francorum X.31*, PL 71, 571.

¹³⁵ He was an avid collector of relics and John Crook mentions that Gregory's deacon had brought back prestigious relics from churches in Rome, but does not specifically include SS. Cosmas and Damian on the list. John Crook, *Architectural Setting of the Cult of Saints in the Early Christian West C. 300-1200* (Oxford, 2000). See also Nicole Herrmann-Mascard, *Les Reliques des saints. Formation coutumière d'un droit* (Paris, 1975) 40.

¹³⁶ "Hic benignissimus praesul fecit in ecclesia beatorum martyrum Cosme et Damiani, in via Sacra, vestem de tyreo, habentem in medio tabulam de christoclabo cum vultu domini nostri Iesu Christi atque beatorum martyrum Cosme et Damiani, cum aliis tribus fratribus..." LP 2, 59.

¹³⁷ Boninus Mombrozio Mediolanensis, *Sanctuarium*, 2 vols (Milan, 1479) 210v-212.

This group of what were believed to be early Latin Acta (BHL 1967) are closely related to the Greek *Passio Arabica*, but the date given was the Roman date of 27 September.¹³⁸ The action took place in the time of Diocletian and Maximian, in *civitate Aegea*. The protagonists were Cosmas and Damian, but the other three brothers were mentioned. The five brothers appeared before Lysias and refused to pray to the pagan god *Adriani* and were tortured. The trial was lengthened and long prayers, many of which included direct quotations from the psalms, accompanied each phase of the martyrdom. There were no miracles associated with this version.

The second Latin legend included in the *Acta Sanctorum* was a version that included elements from the Asian and the Arab sources (BHL 1969). In this tale the two medical confessors Cosmas and Damian, sons of Theodote, were martyred in *Egia* at the time of Diocletian and Maximian. They were Christian doctors brought to trial under Lysias. Again, when questioned they stated they were from Arabia. They were thrown in the sea, imprisoned, burnt, crucified while stones are thrown at them and arrows are shot at them. Finally they were decapitated and buried. The passion was followed by the miracle about the peasant farmer eating a snake, the second miracle of the *Vita Asiatica*. There were no brothers mentioned.¹³⁹ The beginning and the end were like the *Vita Asiatica* however the trial was from the *Passio Arabica* with some characteristics

¹³⁸ The Acta were believed to be proconular acts from Cilicia later edited by Christians. *AASS VII*, 471-472. Luongo, "Il 'dossier' agiografico," 54-55.

¹³⁹ This is the third legend included in the *Acta Sanctorum* so they call it the *Acta Tertia*, from their codex Ms. P. 155 and is edited by Stiltig. *AASS VII*, 473-474.

of BHL 1967. Unlike these sources the three brothers were omitted and the sepulchre of Cosmas and Damian was indicated as being in *Egia*.¹⁴⁰

Finally, the Latin tale that was longest and most successful was represented by the *Acta* edited by sixteenth-century German hagiographer Laurentius Surius (BHL 1970).¹⁴¹ Again the events took place in the time of Diocletian and Maximian. The woman Theodote lived in city of Egea, with her twin sons Cosmas and Damian. The story of Palladia was included. After curing her Damian accepted payment. In response Cosmas refused to be buried with his brother, but God came to him in a dream and Cosmas relented. They cure a camel. Eventually they are brought before the proconsul Lysias, and again they said they were from Arabia and that they had three other brothers: Anthimus, Leontius and Euprepus. Lysias had the brothers brought before him as well. The usual torments followed: they were chained and thrown in the sea then saved by an angel; they saved Lysias from an attack by demons through prayer; they were then burnt but the fire attacked the impious; they were crucified with stones thrown at them but the stones turned to hit the throwers; and they were shot by arrows that turned on the men who shot them. Finally all five brothers were beheaded. While the Christians were preparing to bury them separately the camel reappeared and says in the voice of a man to bury them together there in *Egea*.

¹⁴⁰ Luongo sees two particularities of the present version, the total absence of the brothers and the burial of the two brothers in Egea. As a rule the latin hagiography ignores or doesn't mention Pherman, although it is common in the Greek versions of the *Vita Asiatica*. He thinks some of these differences are influenced by the Aldelmian version from *De uirginitate*. Luongo, "Il 'dossier' agiografico," 55.

¹⁴¹ From Surius, *De probates sanctorum historiis*, VII (Coloniae, 1581) 722-726 in *AASS VII*, 474-478.

The date of the martyrdom was September 27. The Life was followed by two miracles: the peasant who swallows the snake and the story of Malchus, his wife and the devil. It is this version of the legend that became the most common throughout the Middle Ages in Western Europe.¹⁴² The text shows the complete juxtaposition of the *Asiatica* and *Arabica* traditions, even including the episode of the camel.

The popularity of BHL 1970 was such that variations of it occurred in numerous surviving ninth-century manuscripts across Europe.¹⁴³ The *Old English Martyrology* used BHL 1970 as its main source but included some details from another source. The most significant was the episode of the three eggs given to Damian by Palladia. Specified as, ‘writings say that it was three eggs’. The eggs did occur in some other versions of the legend that appeared in ninth-century European manuscripts close to BHL 1970.¹⁴⁴

Variations on the Arab passion were evident through the canon of Western martyrologies. Other Latin versions differed slightly from the preceding ones often varying between the pure *Passio Arabica* and the mixed type that included the mother of the saints. In Bede’s *Martyrology*, edited by Florus in the

¹⁴² Stilling explains they have three manuscripts from the ninth to tenth centuries, but he believes they are later than the *Acta* edited by Mombrizio. *AASS VII*, 432. Many later manuscripts survive. Van Esbroeck, “La diffusion orientale de la légende des saints Cosme et Damien,” 69-70.

¹⁴³ Cross lists a number of them: Paris BN, MS. lat 10861; Bollandists Lib. Cod. 14, Ninth century Western France; St. Gall Stiftsbibliothek MS. 563 pp.248-260, 9th C NE France; Zurich, Zentralbibliothek MS. Car. C. 10i fols. 192v-195v, Ninth century Reichenau manuscript. J. E. Cross, “Cosmas and Damian in the Old English Martyrology” *Notes and Queries* 30 (1983) 15-18.

¹⁴⁴ Cross cites a passion in Zurich, Zentralbibliothek MS. Car. C. 10i fols. 192v-195v, 9th C. Cross, “Cosmas and Damian in the Old English Martyrology,” 15-18.

second quarter of the ninth century, the saints were included on the 27

September:

SS. Cosmas and Damian born under the persecution of Diocletian and Maximian, in the city of Aegea governed by Lysias, where after many torments, they were bound and imprisoned, in the sea and in the fire, stoned/stoning and shot with arrows by divine influence survived, they were beheaded.¹⁴⁵

It is very similar to the *passio* edited by Mombrizio but the three brothers were omitted.¹⁴⁶ There were versions of Bede that included the brothers, for example the *Editio Coloniensis* described the martyrdom and further mentioned that the bodies of the saints rest near Aegea.¹⁴⁷ St. Aldhelm (d.709) included Cosmas and Damian in his champions of Christian virginity. Here again the passion was nearly complete, lacking only the stoning while on the cross.¹⁴⁸ Ado gave a much longer version in his Martyrology written 853-860. The first family, from ca. 855 enlarged Bede and Florus. The martyrdom and trial took place in the city of Aegea under the prefect Lysias at time of Diocletian persecutions. He mentioned that the saints were taught by their mother, although he did not give

¹⁴⁵ "Natale SS. Cosmae et Damiani sub persecutione Diocletiani et Maximiani, praeside Lysia, in civitate Aegea qui post multa tormenta, vincula et carceres tolerates, mare et ignem, crucem, lapidationem et sagittas divinitus superatas, capite plectuntur." Bede (d. 735) in Dubois, "Martyrologes" 8-9. See also Bede, *Martyrologia*, PL 94 (Paris 1862) 1055-1066. This is the version given by Stilling. He does point out that in the codex Latiensi the brothers are added: *cum fratribus Antinoo, Leontio et Euprepio*. AASS VII, 428.

¹⁴⁶ Luongo points out Bede may have been trying to be brief or perhaps he had a different direct source. Luongo, "Il 'dossier' agiografico," 56.

¹⁴⁷ "Apud Aegaeam civitatem, natale sanctorum Cosmae et Damiani, persecutione Diocletiani, sub praeside Lysia, qui post multa tormenta, vincula et carceres tolerates, post mare et ignes, cruces, lapidationes et sagittas, capite plectuntur cum Anthimo, Leontio et Euprepio. Quorum corpora religiosi viri sepelierunt in loco venerabili, non longe a civitate Aegea. Duorum autem fratrum. Cosmae et Damiani memoria etiam templo praeclaro opere, nomini eorum aedificatio solemniter agitur." PL 94, 1055-1066.

¹⁴⁸ *De Virginate, Aldhelmi Opera*, MGH Auct. Ant. XV, Ehwald, ed. (1919) 398-401. Luongo, "Il 'dossier' agiografico," 46-47. AASS VII, 431-432.

her name. When brought before Lysias they announced they were from Arabia and their three brothers were called Anthimus, Leontius and Euprepus. The passion was given, with the usual torments followed by the saints being beheaded with their three brothers on the 27th September. He explained they were all buried in a sepulchre, not far from the city of Aegea. There was also a mention of two brothers Cosmas and Damian honored with a church built to them in Rome.¹⁴⁹ This legend was close to BHL 1970. The mother was included along with the martyrdom of the other three brothers and the mention of a communal sepulchre. However, the mention of a pair of brothers Cosmas and Damian remembered in Rome and the construction of a temple in their honour as well as the absence of miracles suggests at least one additional literary source.¹⁵⁰ It also indicates an awareness of the possibility of multiple pairs of saints. Usuard (d.ca. 875) followed Bede and Florus closely, just adding the mention of the other three brothers.¹⁵¹ Baronius did not stray far from Usuard in the *Martyrologium Romanum* of 1586, describing saints born in Aegea and martyred under the persecutions of Diocletian after the usual torments in the company of their three brothers.¹⁵²

The late thirteenth-century *Legenda Aurea* or *Golden Legend* by Jacobus de Voragine was the most popular medieval version of the legend and was also

¹⁴⁹ "Duorum autem fratrum Cosmae et Damiani memoriam Roma etiam, templo praeclaro opere nomini eorum aedificato, solemnitur agit." Jaques Dubois and Geneviève Renaud, *Le Martyrologe d'Adon. Ses deux familles, ses trios recensions* (Paris, 1984) 329-331.

¹⁵⁰ Luongo, "Il 'dossier' agiografico," 57.

¹⁵¹ Recension A. Three other brothers were named by Ado and Wandelbert. Jaques Dubois, *Le martyrologe d'Usuard*, Subsidia Hagiographica 40 (Brussels, 1965) 310.

¹⁵² *Propylaeum AASS Decembris* (Brussels, 1940),

very closely related to BHL 1970. Voragine drew on many of the calendars and martyrologies described above and his biography of SS. Cosmas and Damian followed them closely.¹⁵³ Because of its popularity, it is useful to this thesis to include the full text of an English translation of the *Golden Legend* vita of SS. Cosmas and Damian as it represents the dominant version of the narrative in fourteenth and fifteenth century Europe (Appendix A).

The Life in the *Golden Legend*, demonstrates the enduring popularity of the Life of SS. Cosmas and Damian as told in BHL 1970. The main elements of the narrative remained consistent with that version and the miracle of Palladia, the Peasant and the Snake and Malco's Wife were included. The most significant difference was the inclusion of the miracle of the Black Leg, which was not found in the ninth century manuscripts, but appeared in almost all versions of the life from this time on.¹⁵⁴ This miracle, set in Rome, was the most distinctive and popular Latin miracle of the doctor saints from the medieval period onward.

The story described a servant, or sometimes a deacon, of the holy martyrs living in the church in Rome. One of the man's legs was consumed by cancer. Whilst he slept Saints Cosmas and Damian appeared to him in a dream as doctors, bringing their medicine and implements. The saints surgically replaced the man's diseased leg with that of a recently buried Ethiopian or Moorish man's

¹⁵³ The Philocalian Calendar, Hieronymian Martyrology, Usuard and Bede are all included amongst his sources. Alain Boureau, *La Légende dorée. Le système narratif de Jacques de Voragine* (1298) (Paris, 1984) 19-21.

¹⁵⁴ Kees Zimmerman believes the *Golden Legend* is the earliest written source, unlikely as the work is a compilation of earlier sources. He mentions that there are some later Greek legends that include it but they do not specifically mention that the leg is black. Kees Zimmerman, *One Leg in the Grave: The Miracle of the Transplantation of the Black Leg by the Saints Cosmas and Damian*, (Maarssen, 1998).

leg that they retrieved from the cemetery of Saint Peter. The man of course woke up healed and proclaimed the good news far and wide. When the tomb of the Ethiopian was opened, the diseased leg was indeed found there.¹⁵⁵ This popular miracle took place at the church of SS. Cosmas and Damian in Rome reinforcing the efficacy of the shrine. The new miracle sits well within the tradition of the hagiography of the saints, as it is explicitly medical, with surgery taking place during a process identifiable with incubation, the traditional form of worship practiced by devotees of healing shrines.

In a fourteenth-century *vita*, now in the *Bibliotheca Medicea Laurenziana* (BHL 1976), the *vita* is narrated in a very similar way to the *Golden Legend* however more posthumous miracles are included.¹⁵⁶ After the Life and Passion are described the author, a Florentine Franciscan called Giustino, included a miracle he presents as having witnessed on a ship. The miracle of the peasant and the snake and of Malchus' wife are also included. Justin then included the miracles of SS. Cosmas and Damian used in the second Nicene council. He finished with the miracle of the black leg, told very similarly to the *Golden*

¹⁵⁵ The translation is based on the text published by Th. Graesse in 1850 with some additions from other fifteenth-century manuscripts. Jacobus de Voragine, "143. Saints Cosmas and Damian," *The Golden Legend: Readings on the Saints* II, trans. William Granger Ryan (Princeton, 1993) 196-198.

¹⁵⁶ The manuscript also includes antiphonae, verses and hymns with chant music for the feast of the saints. Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Pluteo 20, codice 8. VITA ET MIRACULA AUCT. IUSTINO DIAC. ORD. MIN. A.M. It is in Bandinius, *Catalogus Codicum Latinorum Bibliothecae Mediceae Laurentiae* I (Florence, 1774) 619-620. Dated by A.C. De La Mare, "Cosimo and his Books", in Francis Ames-Lewis, ed. *Cosimo 'il Vecchio' de' Medici, 1389-1464*, 115-156, 126. The entire text of the manuscript has been translated by Valeria Novembri. in Elena Gianelli Ed. *Cosma e Damiano dall'Oriente a Firenze* (Florence, 2002) 149-191.

Legend, in which a churchman in Rome has his cancerous leg exchanged for that of a dead Ethiopian.

SS. Cosmas and Damian were certainly known in Western Europe by the early sixth century, but it was the dedication of the basilica in the Roman Forum (526-530) that marked the point at which the tradition of the saints, celebrated September 27, began. The church was surely intended to provide an alternative to local pagan healing sites, such as that dedicated to Asclepius on the *Isola Tiburtina*, and the inscription below the mosaic reinforced this notion declaring that people came to the *doctor martyrs* in hope of salvation. The belief in the presence of relics at the sanctuary must have also strengthened its draw, as the presence of the relics at a cult site was integral to the success of the miraculous healings habitually requested from the doctors. It is not surprising the relics were believed to have arrived at a time of epidemic, as this would be a time when the populace were more strongly motivated to visit healing centres of all types and the Christian ones would need to reinforce their efficacy.

The September 27 feast date, originating from the dedication of the Roman sanctuary, did not reflect any of the dates used in Constantinople. This was despite the fact that Byzantine observances associated with SS. Cosmas and Damian were known in Rome. For example in a late eighth-century version of the *Gregorian Sacramentary* as well as a mass to the saints on September 27, there was also a *collecta* beginning at the church of SS. Cosmas and Damian in the

forum on the date of November 1 ending at S. Cesarius on the Palatine.¹⁵⁷ Further there was the early eighth century Chapel of the Holy Physicians at Santa Maria Antiqua, where the worship of Greek anargyric saints took place in a Byzantine context.¹⁵⁸

Based on the hagiographic evidence it is reasonable to imagine that although the *Passio Arabica* was the dominant version of the tale at least some of the other versions of the legends were known as well. The fact that the Latin legends do not copy the Greek ones directly most likely indicated the existence of undiscovered intermediate links as well as the relatively free circulation of the various legends.¹⁵⁹ Hints of the tradition of multiple saints were found in the *Hieronymian Martyrology* and then were reinforced by Ado (853-860) who described the *Passio Arabica* and then mentions two brothers Cosmas and Damian, honoured in Rome.

The Latin versions of the legend, while admitting some minor variation, for example the egg detail from the Palladia story reappears in a fifteenth-century Florentine manuscript, were surprisingly consistent and in fact most of the detail of the story that is familiar to this day were present in the earliest surviving manuscripts of BHL 1970, from the ninth or tenth century.¹⁶⁰ The contrast with

¹⁵⁷ The Hadrianum of 790. Deshusses, *Le Sacrementaire Grégorien*. It is probable that this date was part of the civic liturgy from the sixth century. It is one of six collecta in the Hadrianum, likely established in the sixth century. Baldovin, *The Urban Character of Christian Worship*, 160.

¹⁵⁸ David Knipp, "The Chapel of Physicians at Santa Maria Antiqua" *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 56 (2002) 1-232.

¹⁵⁹ Gennaro Luongo makes this point and also explains that the various Latin forms of the legend have not yet been as thoroughly studied as the Greek. Luongo, "Il 'dossier' agiografico," 54.

¹⁶⁰ BNF Magliabecchiana 38:8. Crispin Charles Robinson, *Cosimo de' Medici's Patronage of the Observantist Movement* (Courtauld Institute of Art, MPhil, 1984) 93-94.

the complexity in the development of the Byzantine literature was perhaps influenced by the fact that the cult was imported. There were no conflicting centres of origin, each with their own legends and traditions, to be absorbed into the hagiography.

Part 4: Christian doctors/pagan worship: evidence from the miracles of SS.

Cosmas and Damian

The most comprehensive collection of Greek miracles of SS. Cosmas and Damian was associated with the church known as Kosmidon at Blachernae in Constantinople. Some of the miracles were first published in the seventeenth century, but it was Ludwig Deubner in 1907 who published a definitive version of the miracles in Latin under the title *Libellus miraculorum Cosmae et Damiani*. Deubner edited twenty-five manuscripts to come up with forty-seven miracles distinguishing six distinct series by several different authors.¹⁶¹

The earliest miracles, from series one to three, are thought to belong to the late sixth or early seventh century. They were dated through the duplication of some of them in the *Life of SS. Cyrus and John* by Sophronius of Jerusalem (c. 560-638). In describing the miracles of SS. Cyrus and John, Sophronius mentioned that SS. Cosmas and Damian had accomplished two very similar miracles already. They were the miracle of the paralytic and the mute, miracle 24

¹⁶¹ The series are: miracles 1-10, 11-20, 21-26, 27-32, 33-38 and 39-47 by the deacon Maximus. Miracle 48 was added by Deubner and does not belong to the other collections. Festugière, *Collections Greques de Miracles*. Delehay, "Les Recueils Antiques de Miracles des Saints" 9-10.

(MCD 24) from the third series, and the miracle of the Jewish woman with cancer, MCD 2 of the first group.¹⁶² MCD 30, in the fourth series, provided another date because it is included in the second Council of Nicea in 787 as part of the proof in the re-establishment of the cult of images.¹⁶³ The sixth and latest group of miracles were written by Deacon Maximus around 1300.¹⁶⁴

Twenty-four of these miracles also appear in a codex found in the ruins of a Coptic monastery near the temple of Edfu and were published by Ernst Rupprecht in 1935. Using the remains of this tenth or eleventh century manuscript Rupprecht published thirty-eight miracles in total.¹⁶⁵ Despite the age of the manuscript the miracles have been identified as coming from an older tradition. The prologue to the fourth miracle supports this hypothesis explaining that the first three tales are from shortly after the consecration of the church. Of the thirty-eight miracles published, twenty-four were common to Deubner's manuscript from Constantinople and fourteen were completely new.¹⁶⁶ The fourteen new miracles were like the others in tone and type of healings and were almost certainly from a similar date. Some of the miracles took place in Constantinople at Blachernae, which was described as the home of SS. Cosmas

¹⁶² Sophronius, *SS. Cyri et Joannis Miracula*, PG 87/3 (1865) 3519-3520. Although Sophronius does not mention the specific collection that Deubner edits, it does show that the miracle was being told at the end of the sixth century and Delehaye believes it most likely that this was the time the earliest miracles were written. Delehaye, "Les Recueils Antiques de Miracles des Saints," 10.

¹⁶³ MCD 13 and 15 were also included. Mansi, *Sacrorum Conciliorum*, 63-64.

¹⁶⁴ Maximus wrote after the fall of the Latin empire and the death of George the Acropolite (1282), so c. 1300 (proven in MCD 40). Delehaye, "Les Recueils Antiques de Miracles des Saints" 10. MCD 40-47 are likely by another unknown author around the turn of the thirteenth century. Festugière, *Collections Grecques de Miracles*, 85-86.

¹⁶⁵ Rupprecht, *Cosmae et Damiani Sanctorum Medicorum Vitam et Miracula*. Halkin, "Publications Récentes de Textes Hagiographiques Grecques," 366-381.

¹⁶⁶ The new miracles are: 4, 8, 10, 12, 15-20, 27, 31, 32, 38.

and Damian in the capital where people came from far away to undergo healing. The tomb in this manuscript was said to be located at Phereman in Cyrrhestia. Phereman has been identified as being in the environs of Cyrrhus.¹⁶⁷

The miracles of SS. Cosmas and Damian were typical of the Greek tales associated with the anargyric saints. Between the fourth and the seventh century Greek hagiographers wrote about at least nine groups of saints this way.¹⁶⁸ The anargyroi as a group were distinguished by the fact that they were physicians. These Christian doctors, martyred for their faith, were described as giving their services without accepting payment.¹⁶⁹ The idea of benevolent physicians, basing their practice on the ethics of Hippocratism, existed in society. The Christian doctors differed in that they gave the credit for the healing to God and were presented as doctors of both body and soul.¹⁷⁰

The interventions described in the miracles were mainly medical and the stories are popular with several appearing in other sources, for example the two miracles of Cosmas and Damian that were mentioned in Sophronius as also being performed by Cyrus and John. Nonetheless the miracles still reveal much about the role of SS. Cosmas and Damian as healing saints and about the patterns of worship at sanctuaries dedicated to them.

¹⁶⁷ Halkin, "Publications Récentes de Textes Hagiographiques Grecques" 374-381.

¹⁶⁸ The healing saints Cosmas and Damian, Cyrus and John, Artemius, Theraon, plus the prophet Isaiah and the non-healers Theodore, Menas, Thecla, Demetrius. Delehaye, "Les Recueils Antiques de Miracles des Saints," 6-7

¹⁶⁹ SS. Cosmas and Damian, Cyrus and John, Panteleimon and Hermolaos, Sampson and Diomedes, Photios and Antiketos, Thallelaos and Tryphon and Colluthus of Egypt are the most well known. Jerry Allan Pattengale, *Benevolent Physicians in Late Antiquity: the Cult of the Anargyroi* (PhD, Miami University, 1993) 3.

¹⁷⁰ Pattengale, *Benevolent Physicians*, 99-146.

For example, most of the healings took place during the ritual of incubation. In this practice, already described above in Procopius' narration of Justinian's miraculous experience, the suppliant slept at the sanctuary. The saints then usually appeared in a dream vision and either healed the person immediately or recommended a course of action to follow or remedy to take.¹⁷¹ Healing could be almost instantaneous or quite protracted; in MCD 30 one man spent six years faithfully waiting for a cure.

Based on the evidence of the miracles, the church in Constantinople was designed with the ritual of incubation in mind. The church was preceded by a large courtyard with porticoes under which the suppliants could lie day and night. Servants brought those who could not walk for healing. On some occasions hangings between the back wall and the columns were mentioned, they formed spaces where an individual could be isolated if necessary. There was an associated hostel and infirmary and pharmacy where the saints performed operations on occasion. Those who could use their legs prayed in the church during the day, some were able to spend the night in the church.¹⁷² Pattengale describes it as a hospital with physicians treating patients as well as them waiting for a miracle cure.¹⁷³ Christian charity was largely responsible for the development of hospitals with medical treatment provided by doctors to all members of society. Christian philanthropic institutions to help the sick, in which nurses and

¹⁷¹ Delehayé, "Les Recueils Antiques de Miracles des Saints," 11-18. H.J. Magoulías "The Lives of the Saints as Sources of Data for the History of Byzantine Medicine in the Sixth and Seventh Centuries" *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 57 (1964) 127-150.

¹⁷² Festugière, *Collections Greques de Miracles*, 89-91.

¹⁷³ Pattengale, *Benevolent Physicians*, 174-175.

doctors were hired under the direction of priests and clergy, were evidenced from the late fourth century. Seventh century xenones were also directed by priests but included lay staff and offered varying levels of medical assistance.¹⁷⁴ Similarly, pagan shrines had also had hostels but the Christian ones with their scale and scope were different often incorporating medical centres, poorhouses and old people's homes.¹⁷⁵

Incubation was a ritual that had been associated with pagan healing shrines dedicated to Asclepius, the Dioscuri or Isis and between the fifth and seventh centuries incubation was also commonly practiced in sanctuaries dedicated to Christian healing saints like Cosmas and Damian and Cyrus and John.¹⁷⁶ The continuation of this form of worship at Christian healing shrines provides another insight into the popularity and rapid spread of the cult of SS. Cosmas and Damian. Healing shrines dedicated to Christian saints, like Cosmas and Damian fulfilled a similar role to the Dioscuri or Asclepius by providing an accessible intercessor for people to apply to in times of need. As Hans Belting points out at such times, "the idea of a religion was always less important than the direct meeting with its representative."¹⁷⁷ The populace was motivated by the

¹⁷⁴ A recognized teaching function becomes discernible in these institutions from the eleventh century and by the twelfth century the doctors rather than clergy were in control of most treatment at Byzantine hospitals. Timothy Miller, "Byzantine Hospitals" *DOP* 38 (1984) 53-63.

¹⁷⁵ Vivian Nutton, "Galen to Alexander, Medical Practice in Late Antiquity" *DOP* 38 (1984) 1-14, 9.

¹⁷⁶ Christian incubation did continue to the end of the Byzantine period. Mango, "New Religion, Old Culture," 113. Festugière, following Delehaye, explains that a belief in vision and dreams has always been common to Jews of Old Testament, early Christians and Greek and Roman pagans. Festugière, *Collections Greques de Miracles*, 91-95.

¹⁷⁷ Hans Belting, *Likeness and Presence: A History of the Image before the Era of Art* (Chicago, 1994) 37.

same impulse to visit Cosmas and Damian, as they had been to visit Asclepius or Castor and Pollux.

Ludwig Deubner believed Cosmas and Damian to actually be a Christian manifestation of the Dioscuri, Castor and Pollux.¹⁷⁸ Indeed the similarity of the devotion led to confusion as is recognized by the sixth or seventh-century author of MCD 9. In this miracle Cosmas and Damian are approached by pagans who mistook them for Castor and Pollux.¹⁷⁹ Christianity had indeed adopted many aspects of the roles of previous healing cults including forms of worship such as incubation and the imagery that accompanied it.¹⁸⁰ Christian healing centres emerged throughout the empire, providing alternatives popular sites of pagan healing, and providing locations in which old forms of worship persisted. Often the translation of relics was used to establish the power and presence of the saints in a given place. In 414 Bishop Cyril of Alexandria describes the translation of relics of SS. Cyrus and John to Menuthis specifically to replace the local devotion to pagan healing deities. Afterward the name of Menuthis was changed to Aboukir (Abba Kyros).¹⁸¹ Further examples included the Christian basilica constructed at the Asclepieion at Epidaurus and at the Asclepieion in Rome,

¹⁷⁸ He first put forward this theory in his 1900 book *De incubatione* where he used the miracles as examples to demonstrate the persistence of the pagan ritual of incubation. Deubner, *Kosmas und Damian*, 52-57.

¹⁷⁹ Festugière, *Collections Greques de Miracles*, 110-112. Deubner, *Kosmas und Damian*, 113-117.

¹⁸⁰ Mango describes the gap left by paganism being filled by the cult of the saints. Rather than the straight substitution of one god for another practices such as incubation were continued in different contexts. Mango, "New Religion, Old Culture," 113.

¹⁸¹ *PG* 77,1099-1106; *PG* 43, 209. See also Knipp, "The Chapel of Physicians," 1.

which became the church of S. Bartolommeo with the healing spring as its font.¹⁸²

This need to identify with with a representative of healing was a major factor in the rapidity with which dedications to SS. Cosmas and Damian appeared through the fifth and sixth centuries.¹⁸³ Pagan healing centres were enormously popular and the shrines established over the tombs or with the translations of anargyric saints were a direct response to them. Although some of the anargyroi had an appeal that remained local others, like SS. Cosmas and Damian had a more universal appeal with cult centres springing up all over the Late Roman Empire.¹⁸⁴ Many of the early dedications have been linked to pagan healing antecedents. Deubner hypothesized that the cult originated in Constantinople, as a replacement for a popular therapeutic sanctuary to the Dioscuri.¹⁸⁵ In suggesting Constantinople as the location he is disagreeing with Ernst Lucius who thought the cult originated in Aegea to undermine that of Asclepius who had an important shrine there.¹⁸⁶ Jerry Pattengale believes Cyrrhus to be the first main cult centre

¹⁸² Nutton, "Galen to Alexander," 7. The basilica at Thessalonika bore a resemblance to the great healing centre at the temple of Asclepius at Epidaurus in classical times. Some of the big healing sanctuaries like Briorde, Tours, Thessalonika likely owed their location to earlier centres of cult healing in Gaul and the Mediterranean. Joan M. Petersen, "Dead or Alive? The holy man as healer in East and West in the late sixth century," *Journal of Medieval History* 9 (1983) 91-98, 95-96.

¹⁸³ Although not a part of Roman custom, translations certainly occurred in the late fourth and early fifth centuries, often with a theological reason, like that of Bishop Cyril described above. By the late sixth century they were certainly more common. Herrmann-Mascard, *Les Reliques des saints. Formation*, 26-40.

¹⁸⁴ For exaple Collothus in Upper Egypt has a more limited appeal. Pattengale, *Benevolent Physicians*, 147-148.

¹⁸⁵ Deubner, *Kosmas und Damian*, 52-57.

¹⁸⁶ Ernst Lucius, *Die Anfänge des Heiligenkultus in der christlichen Kirche*, (Tübingen, 1904).

before being superceded by Constantiople and points out that the area, as represented by Theodoret was one of intense pagan-Christian competition.¹⁸⁷

The identification of the saints as physicians does not mean Cosmas and Damian were actually believed to be practicing secular or conventional medicine. The healings they performed were miraculous, achieved through prayer and intercession rather than through naturalistic or scientific means. This distinction was made clear in miracle tales and other hagiographic writings. In the earliest vitae, such as the Syrian legend (BHO 210) from a manuscript from the fifth or sixth century, the earliest existing manuscript for the legend of SS. Cosmas and Damian. Cosmas, before dying, specifically asked God to keep working at his tomb.¹⁸⁸ Gregory of Tours emphasized how although SS. Cosmas and Damian had been doctors in life, after conversion they healed only through prayer. Gregory also made clear that God was the origin of the miracles, an important distinction.¹⁸⁹

The concept of Christ as a divine healer, as *Christus Medicus* had developed out of this environment of conflict and competition with pagan healers such as Asclepius, Isis and Mithras. Important distinctions were made, however, particularly between the spiritual healing provided by Christ as opposed to the

¹⁸⁷ Pattengale, *Benevolent Physicians*, 168-175.

¹⁸⁸ British Museum Add. 14644. Maas, *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 17, 609-613.

¹⁸⁹ "Duo vero gemini, Cosmas scilicet et Damianus, arte medici, postquam Christiani effecti sunt (An. 303, 27 Sept.), solo virtutum merito et orationum interventu, infirmitates languentium depellebant..." *Miraculorum Lib. I De Gloria Martyrum. Caput XCVIII. De Cosma et Damiano. PL 71, 791.* s. Hubertus Lutterbach, "Der *Christus Medicus* und die *Sancti medici*. Das wechselvolle Verhältnis zweier Grundmotive chrsitlicher Frömmigkeit zwischen Spätantike und Früher Neuzeit." *Saeculum* 47 (1996) 239-281, 247-248.

physical healing provided by others.¹⁹⁰ Disease was equated with sin and health with virtue, Christ was not just a healer or doctor he was also a saviour healing the soul. By the time of the writings of Gregory of Tours there was much emphasis on the ‘*sanctus medicus*,’ a man of God, living or dead, who due to his sanctity was able to perform healing miracles through God.¹⁹¹ Christian healers, modelled after Christ, cured not just physical ailments, but spiritual ones as well and their aid was conditional on the belief of the suppliant. For example MCD 9 in which Cosmas and Damian were mistaken for Castor and Pollux, the saints refused to treat the pagans until their faith in God could be proven.¹⁹²

The hagiographic sources made clear the distinction between Christian and secular medicine, regularly portraying doctors in a negative light. Doctors were presented as ineffective and greedy, often overcharging for services that did not work.¹⁹³ This invective was an essential component of the genre of miracle stories. Christian healing existed in opposition to conventional medicine, providing an alternative service to the same audience.¹⁹⁴

¹⁹⁰ Rudolph Arbesmann, “The Concept of ‘Christus Medicus’ in Saint Augustine” *Traditio* 10 (1954) 1-28. Although as Hubertus Lutterbach points out the origins of the idea of *Christus Medicus* can already be found in the gospels, the confrontation with Asclepius meant that Christ acquired some of the attributes of the pagan deity. “Der *Christus Medicus* und die *Sancti medici*,” 240-241.

¹⁹¹ Final power of course always rests with God. Lutterbach, “Der *Christus Medicus* und die *Sancti medici*,” 242-248.

¹⁹² Festugière, *Collections Greques de Miracles*, 110-112. Deubner, *Kosmas und Damian*, 113-117

¹⁹³ Peregrine Horden, “Saints and Doctors in the Early Byzantine Empire: The Case of Theodore of Sykeon,” *Studies in Church History* 19 (1982) 1-13, 9-10.

¹⁹⁴ “The despair of doctors in cases where the saint triumphs becomes a topos of hagiographic invective”. Sometimes centers of sacred and secular medicine were in direct competition for customers. Horden “Saints and Doctors in the Early Byzantine Empire,” 10-13. Gregory of Tours only describes the success of worldly doctors twice in *The History of the Franks*. Lutterbach, “Der *Christus medicus* und die *Sancti medici*,” 249-257.

If one looks beyond the vitriol the same hagiographic sources reveal a society in which Christian and secular medicine coexisted on a practical level. In the miracle tales the saints were generally approached after the possibilities of secular medicine had been exhausted. While this allowed authors to emphasize the ineffectiveness of the medical treatments, it also revealed that on the whole individuals went to their local doctors before appealing for miraculous intervention. As John Duffy points out in looking at the writings of Sophronius, although the author's attitude to medicine was definitely hostile, it was taken for granted that the ill attempted medical healing prior to approaching the saints. Although it was not their intention, the authors of miracle accounts provided useful information about the practice of medicine.¹⁹⁵

In fact healing shrines dedicated to medical saints such as Cosmas and Damian were part of a variety of medical options available to an individual including doctors, holy men and various empirics and folk healers. In examining the *Life of Theodore of Sykeon*, Peregrine Horden, found that the holy man would prescribe various forms of medical intervention according to the need of the patient. He sent suplicants to surgeons or other medical practitioners as well as healing them miraculously or making use of the services of folk healers. Similarly sometimes doctors advised the use of medical shrines as in MCD 29 and MCD 32.¹⁹⁶ Medicine in the late Roman Empire was still a relatively open

¹⁹⁵ John Duffy, "Byzantine Medicine in the Sixth and Seventh Centuries: Aspects of Teaching and Practice," *DOP* 38 (1984) 21-27, 24-25. Petersen, "Dead or Alive?" 91-98.

¹⁹⁶ Horden uses the anthropological term "hierarchy of resort." Horden, "Saints and Doctors in the Early Byzantine Empire," 1-13.

profession with practitioners exhibiting a vast degree of different levels of training, expertise, wealth and status.¹⁹⁷

Although the origins of SS. Cosmas and Damian are difficult to pin down, the evidence provided by historic, liturgical and hagiographic sources point to Cyrrhus in Northern Syria as a geographic starting point for the cult that was quickly eclipsed by Kosmidon in Constantiople in significance. The popularity of the physicians and the role of anargyroi as a group in supplanting pagan healing cults led to a rapid dissemination of the cult through the later Roman Empire.

The Byzantine hagiographic writings on SS. Cosmas and Damian reflected the rapid growth of the cult in their complexity. Numerous different versions of the Legend of the saints emerged resulting in the identification of several different pairs of saints. In Latin sources the evolution of the legend was less ambiguous. Although shortly after the appearance of SS. Cosmas and Damian in the Roman Liturgy there were traces of the hagiographic multiplicity that characterised the Eastern story, the version of the Life of the saints that developed in the West was much more uniform remaining essentially the same through the middle ages and beyond.

The miracle tales, as well as describing patterns of worship also provided significant amounts of information about the importance and function of images in a Christian healing cult. It is this aspect that will be examined in the next chapter as well as the early images of the saints. In the establishment of an

¹⁹⁷ Nutton, "Galen to Alecander" 11-13. J. Pattengale, *Benevolent Physicians*, 29-49. Duffy, "Byzantine Medicine in the Sixth and Seventh Centuries," 21-27.

iconography, artists must have used the visual language available to them incorporating influences from pagan traditions or the secular world.¹⁹⁸ The imagery of previous healing cults would have been familiar but the use of the anargyroi as direct substitutes or replacements for the pagan healers meant that borrowing directly from those sources would be impossible. The hagiography that identified them as Christian doctors, martyrs and miracle healers would have to be drawn on as well as the appearance and attributes of contemporary physicians.

¹⁹⁸Belting, *Likeness and Presence*, 115

Chapter 2. Miracles and pilgrims: the early iconography of SS. Cosmas and Damian.

The success of the Christian healing saints between the fifth and seventh centuries led to the multiplication of cult sites housing relics and an increased demand on the part of suppliants to participate in the veneration of objects or have contact with them.¹⁹⁹ In the case of the healing saints it would most often be with the intention of undergoing the ritual of incubation. As with earlier pagan healing cults, both devotional and votive images were an important part of these shrines. Gary Vikan explains the written evidence for votive images was as early as the mid-fifth century but by the sixth and seventh centuries devotional images were also mentioned in hagiographic and historic documents.²⁰⁰ Although their functions overlapped, on the whole devotional images served to help identify the figure venerated in that place and remind suppliants of the power of an individual. Votive images, as well as being a response to a cure, provided visual proof of the successful interventions of the object of worship.²⁰¹ All of the images

¹⁹⁹ Pierre Marval, "The Earliest Phase of Christian Pilgrimage in the Near East (Before the Seventh Century)" *DOP* 56 (2002) 63-74, 72.

²⁰⁰ Gary Vikan, "Icons and Icon Piety in Early Byzantium" Christopher Moss and Katharine Kiefer eds., *Byzantine East, Latin West: Art-Historical Studies in Honour of Kurt Weitzmann* (Princeton, 1995) 569-578, 575-576.

²⁰¹ Ranged from as small a notice as a bit of graffiti expressing thanks to an expensive new icon given to a site. Annemarie Weyl Carr, "Icons and the Object of Pilgrimage in Middle Byzantine Constantinople," *DOP* 56 (2002) 75-9283.

helped confirm the authenticity of a saint's appearance and provided a focus for prayer helping to trigger the dream visions essential to successful incubation.²⁰²

There are few surviving images of SS. Cosmas and Damian from this time, and in fact a complete absence of any surviving images from Cyrrhus and Constantinople, the locations of the most important shrines of the fifth and sixth century. However this is the time when a great number of the miracles associated with the shrine at Kosmidon in Constantinople were recorded. This chapter will consider the miracle stories that provide a significant amount of information about the importance of images in the Christian healing cult. The earliest images that do survive will be examined within the context of these miracle stories and the hagiographic legends, continuing though the subsequent centuries as the developing iconography reflected the position of the saints as physicians, martyrs and healers differentiating them from their pagan counterparts. Finally, the expansion of the cult of SS. Cosmas and Damian in Italy will be looked at, through the spread of dedications and relics as well as through some examples from the surviving eleventh and twelfth century images of the saints on the Italian peninsula.

Part 1: Kosmidon and the miracles.

It is clear in the evidence found in the *Libellus miraculorum Cosmae et Damiani* that images played an important role at the shrine at Kosmidon. In MCD 30, the

²⁰² There was a similar process at shrines to Asclepius where he was imagined in visions in forms sanctioned by images, usually statues, at the cult site. Vikan, "Icons and Icon Piety in Early Byzantium" 572-573.

narrative described the function of two different painted images at the sanctuary, and as a result appeared in the writings in defence of images at the second Council of Nicea in 787.²⁰³ In the tale a man with an incurable fistula had repeatedly visited the church of the saints at Kosmidon but had not been cured. Eventually he prayed in front of an icon in the narthex of the church that depicted the Virgin between SS. Cosmas and Damian and a dignitary called Leontios. The next night the saints appeared to him in a vision in the same manner as they had been portrayed in the icon, with the Virgin between them. As a result of the vision he was healed and in gratitude he arranged to have the miracle portrayed, “in the colonnade at the left, above the entrance to the diakonikon.”²⁰⁴ The first image acted as a stimulus to the man’s vision and subsequent healing, the second he left as a votive gift that would serve to inspire visions and devotion in future suppliants

The appearance of the saints in the manner of a familiar image was not unusual in hagiographic narrative. In the early seventh century *Life of Theodore of Sykeon*, Theodore was described as having a painting of SS. Cosmas and Damian above his bed in his private rooms at his monastery in the village of Mazamia. When he fell deathly ill the saints were describes as appearing to him in a vision

²⁰³ MCD 13, 15 and 30. Mansi, *Sacrorum Conciliorum*, 63-64. There was an increase at this time in records of the use of images and their power, particularly in hagiography and popular fiction. Kitzinger points out that quite a few were connected to/used at the Second Council of Nicea and some were probably designed for that purpose, but others can be shown to have come from sixth or seventh century texts. Ernst Kitzinger, “The Cult of Images in the age Before Iconoclasm,” *The Art of Byzantium and the Medieval West* (Bloomington, 1976) 95-96.

²⁰⁴ Deubner does not choose the manuscript with this ending, but Festugière believes this manuscript is equally valid. Festugière, *Collections Greques de Miracles*, 169-172. Also Mansi, *Sacrorum Conciliorum*, 63-64.

in exactly the same manner in which they were portrayed in his icon above his bed. They examined him like doctors and then interceded on his behalf with Christ.²⁰⁵

In MCD 13, a soldier called Constantine, who was a great devotee of SS. Cosmas and Damian, had to leave Constantinople when he was posted away by the army to Laodicea. For protection he took with him the image of the saints in a small painting that he carried in a wallet under his arm.²⁰⁶ A short time after his wife, a local Laodicean woman, developed an abscess in her jaw and was in significant pain. He had forgotten about the image he carried and could not see how to help her. He explained that were they in Constantinople he would get some *kerote* from the home of the saints and she would be cured. She, impressed by his tales of the efficacy of the doctor saints and was filled with desire to approach them and promised to visit the shrine of Cosmas and Damian immediately upon their return to Constantinople. That night she had a dream vision in which Cosmas and Damian appeared to her in the manner in which they are represented saying, "we are here with you". When she woke up she asked her husband what they look like and in what state they come to visit the sick. He described them and their saintly characteristics. He then remembered the image in his wallet and showed it to her and she recognized them and realised that the

²⁰⁵ A.J. Festugière, ed. *Vie de Théodore de Sykéôn*, Ch. 39. *Subsidia Hagiographica* 48 (Brussels, 1970) 34-38.

²⁰⁶ Carries it 'out of faith' and 'for his own protection' a phylactery, an amulet or talisman believed to ward off evil familiar in many cultures. John Lowden, *Early Christian and Byzantine Art*, (London, 1997) 150. Kitzinger, "The Cult of Images in the age Before Iconoclasm," 109, n.98.

saints really were with them as they had said. The following night the saints appeared to her once more and asked, “Did we not say we were with you? What do you suffer from?” One of them inserted his finger into her mouth to clear the abscess. In order to further confirm her faith and they left some *kerote* under her pillow and explained that if she applied an ointment of it every evening before bed she would not be troubled by her pain anymore. Once the soldier and his wife returned to Constantinople, the wife was able to visit the home of the saints in gratitude and recognition.²⁰⁷ In this case, the woman had not seen the painted image as it had been forgotten, but was able to use the image to recognize the saints after they had appeared to her.

The idea of recognition does invite speculation over whether there was a specific manner in which they were portrayed in the sanctuary in Constantinople that made them recognisable or whether these tales are individual with each suppliant recognising the saints from the image they owned. It seems likely that there was a dominant manner of representing the saints in the church. As can be seen at the church built over the tomb of Saint Demetrius at Thessalonike, Demetrius, recognisable from the visual decoration of the church, was reproduced with various individuals he had helped on the pillars and walls of the sanctuary.²⁰⁸ The appearance of the saint in the main icon, now lost, which was once kept in a silver canopy in the church, was reflected in some of the images: a youthful figure in an officer's cloak presented frontally with his hand raised in

²⁰⁷ MCD 13, Festugière, *Collections Greques de Miracles*, 125-127.

²⁰⁸ Robin Cormack, *Writing in Gold: Byzantine Society and Its Icons*, (London, 1985) 50-93.

prayer as recounted in the visions of the time. The image was then reproduced around the church in a number of variations as requested by the donors.²⁰⁹

The same practice is described at Kosmidon in MCD 30 in which the man creates his own votive image after his vision was inspired by a similar painted votive including a dignitary called Leontius. In the case of the soldier Constantine it seems that his personal image was very similar to an image or images he was familiar with at the shrine in Constantinople. The appearance of the saints in the dream vision is described as matching their appearance in the painted image and as helping the wife to recognise them. Yet in this case the image was not just a focus for devotion or stimulation to a vision, as the saints themselves point out they were actually present in the painted amulet.²¹⁰

Cosmas and Damian also presented the woman with *kerote*, the most popular of the relics associated with the shrine at Kosmidon. The *kerote*, which featured in numerous miracles, was the wax collected in the sanctuary that was given out both in response to specific requests and regularly on predetermined days.²¹¹ Gary Vikan writes extensively on such relics, or *eulogiai* that were common to Byzantine healing shrines and were intended to be carried away from the shrine itself both as a remembrance of pilgrimage, and also in order to protect

²⁰⁹ Belting, *Likeness and Presence*, 82-88.

²¹⁰ Ernst Kitzinger points out that this dramatizes the objective power of the icon, and makes clear the actual presence of the saints in the image. He emphasizes that they did not remember they had the icon when it began to work. It is not clear if it was written before or after the iconoclastic controversy. Kitzinger, "The Cult of Images in the age Before Iconoclasm", 148.

²¹¹ For example MCD 13, 16, 30. Also oil from the lamps was distributed, see MCD 22, 23. Delehay, *les recueils antiques des miracles*, 13. In MCD 30 it is explained the wax was handed out on a regular day. Festugière, *Collections Greques de Miracles*, 125-127, 169-172.

the bearer in the future.²¹² In this case the wax the woman received magically was to be applied as an ointment daily. There were also many forms of *eulogiai* that included images and inscriptions, such as iconically stamped earthen tokens.²¹³ Items such as these were perceived to carry or invoke the presence of those who were portrayed in them and they also stimulated visions. Vikan describes a bronze cross from the sixth or seventh century that depicts the Virgin and Child and SS. Peter, Paul, Cosmas, Damian and Stephen. The invocations, ‘Christ help me’ and ‘Saints Cosmas and Damian grant your blessing’ or ‘Saints Cosmas and Damian bless [me]’ would seem to indicate that the object was not merely representative of a single cure rather that it was intended to continue to work for the owner much like the image carried by the soldier Constantine in MCD 13 (Figure 1).²¹⁴

The third miracle of SS. Cosmas and Damian that appeared in defense of images at Nicea was the most unusual. Here, although the woman was a great devotee of the saints who visited the shrine at Constantinople regularly she also had an image of them painted in her home. Despite the presence of the image she developed terrible pains that would not stop and one day, left alone in her home, she went to the painting and scratched it with her nails. She then mixed the dust

²¹² Another example is the holy dust given out at the grave of St. Symeon. Gary Vikan, “Art, Medicine and Magic in Early Byzantium” *DOP* 38 (1984) 65-86, 72, n.43.

²¹³ *Eulogia*, often earth, terra cotta, wax or pewter were probably modeled on icons displayed around a shrine. Vikan, “Icons and Icon Piety in Early Byzantium” 573.

²¹⁴ Now at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. The Cloisters Collection, 1974.150. Vikan, “Art, Medicine and Magic in Early Byzantium,” 84-85.

with water, drank it and was miraculously healed.²¹⁵ Although the woman was carefully described by the author as going to thank Christ for giving the saints the power to heal, the distinction between the image and the saints represented in it is not made.²¹⁶ The presence of the saints and their power seemed to reside in the fabric of the image itself.

Part 2: Earliest surviving images

The apse mosaic from the basilica of SS. Cosma e Damiano in the Roman forum is the earliest surviving example of an image from a church dedicated to the saints (Figure 2). The mosaic dates from the time when the building was transformed into a church under Felix IV (526-530), who himself appears in the composition (Figure 5).²¹⁷ As was discussed in the first chapter of this thesis, little is known of Felix IV and his possible reasons for establishing a church dedicated to the doctor saints. It is likely that the church was intended to supplant existing non-Christian healing cults in the area and at the same time the appearance of Felix in the mosaic may indicate a more personal connection to the saints as well. Once established however, the church certainly would have

²¹⁵ MCD 15, Festugière, *Collections Greques de Miracles*, 130-131. Mansi, *Sacrorum Conciliorum*, 67.

²¹⁶ Defenders of images maintained that icons served as symbols or reminders of deities and saints but common beliefs and practices attributed magic properties to images which meant that the distinction between the image and the person represented blurred. Kitzinger, "The Cult of Images in the age Before Iconoclasm," 100-101.

²¹⁷ Generally accepted that the mosaics are from the time of Felix IV. Krautheimer, *Corpus Basilicarum I*, 137-143. Christa Ihm says ca.540, *Die Programme der christlichen Apsismalerei 4.-8. Jahrhundert* (Stuttgart, 1992) 39. Some scholars date the mosaics on the triumphal arch to the time of Sergius I (687-701). G. Matthiae, *SS. Cosma e Damiano*, 17, 38. Lino Temperini, *Storia, Teologia e Arte nel mosaico della basilica dei santi Cosma e Damiano a Roma*, (Rome, 1999) 206-207. Temperini bases much of his information on Vitalino Tiberia's restoration of the arch published in 1998, however he admits the technical proof is still not decisive.

functioned as a focus for suppliants seeking help from the healing saints, whether they were local or had travelled on pilgrimage to Rome.²¹⁸

It should be noted that the current church reflects renovations that were undertaken in the time of Urban VIII (1623-1644). The most significant change was the division of the round vestibule and the main body of the church in two horizontally, creating two separate floors. At this time the church was divided into the lower and upper church, the opening of the arch was narrowed and lateral chapels were added on either side of the nave.²¹⁹ Therefore sixth-century worshippers and suppliants would have seen the mosaic from a very different and much lower viewpoint.

In the main image Christ appears in Paradise holding a rolled scroll of the law, against the background of a blue sky on a staircase of multicoloured clouds.²²⁰ On the opposite side of the river Jordan, SS. Peter and Paul ceremonially present SS. Cosmas and Damian to Christ. They hold crowns of martyrdom/victory in veiled hands.²²¹ On the outside of the composition Felix himself is portrayed in ecclesiastical garments offering a model of the church to

²¹⁸ For example the church is cited in the *Itinerario Salisburgensis* 630-40, Krautheimer, *Corpus Basilicarum I*, 137.

²¹⁹ Biasiotti and Whitehead "La Chiesa dei Ss. Cosma e Damiano al Foro Romano," 83-122. Krautheimer, *Corpus Basilicarum I*, 142; Roberta Budriesi, *La Basilica dei SS. Cosma e Damiano a Roma*, (Bologna, 1968) 7-16.

²²⁰ Roberta Budriesi writes that the image of Christ is very much linked to the antique *traditio legis*, indeed Christ's feet are in the exact position. She points out small changes such as the rolled scroll and the substituting of the clouds for a mountain. Budriesi, *La Basilica dei SS. Cosma e Damiano*, 126.

²²¹ Christ appears as an Emperor issuing the law. Apostle/princes introduce the martyrs and donors to Christ in his heavenly kingdom. They hold their crowns of victory in veiled hands (as soldiers and circus combatants would offer their standards or crowns to the Emperor). Ihm, *Die Programme der christlichen Apsismalerei*, 39-40.

Christ, although much of this figure including the head has been replaced.²²² The accompanying inscription describes him as the founder, "Bishop Felix has offered this gift worthy of the Lord so that he may live in the highest vault of the airy heavens."²²³

Saint Theodore, an eastern soldier saint martyred around the same time as SS. Cosmas and Damian appears dressed as a Byzantine dignitary also holding the crown of his martyrdom, and balances Felix IV on the outside of the composition. Thomas Mathews suggests the saint's inclusion could be related to the recent death of Theoderic, including the name saint of Arian king in a Catholic composition suggesting the success of Chalcedonian orthodoxy in Rome.²²⁴ However, this was also a time in which the importation of Byzantine saints was becoming more common, and certainly by the eighth century there was a church dedicated to Saint Theodore at the bottom of the Palatine.²²⁵ The apse mosaic at *S. Teodoro* is very similar to that of *SS. Cosma e Damiano* with Christ enthroned flanked by Peter and Paul who introduce S. Theodore and S. George

²²² Ihm, *Die Programme der christlichen Apsismalerei*, 137. Under Gregory XIII (1572-1585), Pope Felix was changed into Gregory I. He was changed back but is now a more modern type with a tiara and keys. Also SANCT, is unusual for a living man. Budriesi, *La Basilica dei SS. Cosma e Damiano*, 127-130. Giuseppe Bovini points out a couple of other bishop constructors from a similar time: the Euphrasius basilica at Poreč mentioned below includes bishop Euphrasius presenting a model of his church to the Virgin and Child. S. Vitale in Ravenna, 547/547 Bishop Ecclesius. Giuseppe Bovini, *Le antichità cristiane della fascia costiera istriana da Parenzo a Pola*, (Bologna, 1974) 37.

²²³ OBTULIT HOC DOMINO FELIX ANTISTITE DIGNUM
MUNUS UT AETHERIA VIVAT IN ARCE POLI

²²⁴ Theoderic died in 526 and was succeeded by his daughter in law Amalasuntha who was not an Arian. Mathews, *The Clash of Gods*, 168-169.

²²⁵ Theodore, called Theodore of Amasea, S. Teodoro, although possibly founded earlier is recorded in the eighth century. Knipp, "The Chapel of Physicians," 7.

respectively. The iconography of Theodore himself is consistent to that at SS.

Cosma e Damiano.²²⁶

The whole scene of ceremonial presentation is surrounded by apocalyptic iconography, particularly on the triumphal arch. A lamb sits on a jewelled throne in the centre of the arch below a cross. At his feet is the roll of law with seven seals. Seven candelabras surround the lamb as well as winged angels and the symbols of the evangelists, although two were cut off in the seventeenth century interventions. Also cut off were most of the twenty-four elders who appeared lower on the arch.²²⁷

SS. Cosmas and Damian are wearing off-white tunics partly covered by darker bluish-mauve mantles or *pallia* and dark shoes, similar garments albeit in a different colour to SS. Peter and Paul (Figure 3 and Figure 4). The lighter colour worn by Peter and Paul, as well as their sandals make their appearance closer to that of Christ. Cosmas and Damian are both portrayed in younger middle age with short dark hair and beards. Each carries the crown of his martyrdom in veiled hands and from the left arm of each hangs a red medical case or box with a strap. The red cases are slightly trapezoidal in shape and on one of them a cross is visible on its lid. Similar medical cases appear in an Egyptian fresco from the sixth or seventh century and in an illustration from the

²²⁶ The mosaic has been dated from ca.530 to the early seventh century. Ihm, *Die Programme der christlichen Apsismalerei*, 140-141.

²²⁷ Temperini, *Storia, Teologia e Arte nel Mosaico*, 208-209. Ihm describes the programme as courtly presentation combined with revelation, but perhaps closer to revelation. Ihm, *Die Programme der christlichen Apsismalerei*, 137. A ceremonial presentation “in a framework of apocalyptic motifs.” Ernst Kitzinger, *Byzantine Art in the Making: Main lines of Sylistic Development in Mediterranean Art* (London, 1977) 92-93.

tenth or eleventh century *Menology of Basil II*. In the fresco Cosmas and Damian appear in the company of their three brothers, and all five saints are clearly identified by Greek inscriptions (Figure 6).²²⁸ The presence of the three brothers is common in Egyptian shrines.²²⁹ The medical cases hang over the left arm of each saint in a similar manner to those seen at *SS. Cosma e Damiano*, but here each case is decorated with the image of a plant (presumably related to healing). In the manuscript illumination, from November 1, *SS. Cosmas and Damian* are shown receiving the gift of healing from God, represented by a hand lowering a red medical bag from the heavens to the brothers (Figure 7).²³⁰

The apse mosaic from the church in Rome is the earliest surviving representation from a church dedicated to the saints. Although not a location associated with the tomb of the saints, the presence of relics and the proclamation about healing in the inscription surely indicated an intention for the site to function as a cult site and draw worshippers away from nearby pagan healing centres. The image would have identified the figures venerated in that place and reminding suppliants of the power of those particular individuals. At the same time there could be a votive component to the image as well, with Felix IV being

²²⁸ Also included are the three youths in the furnace Daniel 3: 1-30 with text below them referring to three Egyptian martyrs named Ananias, Azarias and Misael. The scene seems to have been painted separately from the surrounding saints, but probably by the same artist who has a distinctive manner of rendering hands and feet. The painting was recovered from a wall of an unidentified building in the monastic complex of Wadi Sarga. Now in the British Museum, EA 73139, Gift of the Byzantine Research Fund. Heinz Skrobucha, *The Patrons of the Doctors*, Trans. Hans Hermann Rosenwald. (Recklinghausen, 1967) 22-23.

²²⁹ Pattengale, *Benevolent Physicians*, 170

²³⁰ Illustration from November 1. The manuscript is thought to be associated with Emperor Basil II (976-1025). *Il menologio di Basilio II (cod. vaticano greco 1613)* II, Biblioteca apostolica vaticana (Torino. 1907) 152.

present, it remains ambiguous. An image emphasizing the role of SS. Cosmas and Damian both as doctors and as intercessors must have been important. They were not deities in their own right as some of their pagan predecessors had been and it was necessary to make clear the relationship between the more accessible saints and God, the source of their power.²³¹ The iconography chosen for that purpose emphasizes their proximity to Christ and the more specific position of the saints as both martyrs and physicians is made clear through the attributes they hold.

Further examples of the emerging iconography of SS. Cosmas and Damian can be found in two sixth-century Ravennate mosaics. The first is in the north nave of the Cathedral of Euphrasius at the Istrian town of Poreč.²³² Euphrasius, bishop of Poreč between 543 and 553, refurbished and decorated the basilica; his efforts are recorded in a long inscription in the mosaic.²³³ Mosaics decorate the conches of each of the three apses and the upper part of the triumphal arch (Figure 8).²³⁴ Recent work on the mosaics has been able to identify which parts of the surviving mosaics are original and which are a result of a major nineteenth-century restoration. In the main apse, the Virgin and Child

²³¹ Confusion with previous healing deities existed amongst worshippers. In MCD 9 suppliants actually confused the saints for Castor and Pollux. Festugière, *Collections Greques de Miracles*, 110-112. Deubner, *Kosmas und Damian*, 113-117.

²³² Clementina Rizzardi, "Relazioni artistiche fra Ravenna e l'Istria: I mosaici parietali," *Corsi di Cultura sull'Arte Ravennate e Bizantina*, 42 (1995) 817-836.

²³³ Ann Terry and Henry Maguire, *Dynamic Splendor. The Wall Mosaics in the Cathedral of Euphrasius at Poreč* (University Park, Pennsylvania, 2007). Iva Perčić, *Poreč: The Euphrasius Basilica* (Belgrade, 1968) v-xiii. Euphrasius is also recorded as being at an Aquileian synod in 557. Giuseppe Bovini, *Le antichità cristiane della fascia costiera istriana da Parenzo a Pola* (Bologna, 1974) 13-16. The basilica was completed by the mid 6th century. The decoration and form match what was happening in Ravenna in the 5th and 6th century Bruno Molajoli, *La Basilica Eufrosiana di Parenzo* (Padova, 1943) 26-27.

²³⁴ The main apse protrudes from the building and is polygonal on the outside and semi-circular on the inside (like Ravenna). The side apses are sunk into the walls. Molajoli, *La Basilica Eufrosiana di Parenzo*, 30-33. Perčić, *Poreč: The Euphrasius Basilica*, xiv.

are enthroned with angels and saints. On the left are Maurus (a local martyr), Bishop Euphrasius, Claudius the archdeacon and his son also called Euphrasius. As in the apse of *SS. Cosma e Damiano* in Rome, Bishop Euphrasius presents a model of the church he has built to Christ. On the right are three martyr saints. Below are scenes from the life of the Virgin.

Cosmas and Damian appear in a mosaic in the apse of one of the two side naves of the church, the north nave. In the south nave Christ is portrayed crowning two bishop saints, S. Severus, the top of whom is visible and possibly Ursus or Hermacor. The decoration in the north apse is fragmentary partly a result of earthquake damage in the fifteenth century and the subsequent addition of windows into the apses of the two dark side aisles. Only the heads and shoulders of the saints remain, however enough of the inscriptions and attributes can be seen to identify Cosmas on the left, and Damian on the right who are both being crowned by Christ as martyrs.²³⁵ The saints are both young and beardless with short dark hair. Damian holds a roll in his left hand with yellow and red diagonal striations (Figure 9). The roll, also identified as a scroll, is likely a rolled instrument case. The straps and top of a quadrangular medical bag, similar to the bags at *SS. Cosma e Damiano* in Rome, are visible over that same arm.²³⁶

Cosmas and Damian have been accorded a prominent position in this basilica.

Perhaps their presence in the programme indicates a special reverence on the part

²³⁵ Similar iconography, Christ crowning saints, can be found in an apse fresco in Rome in the oratory of *S. Felicita* near the baths of Titus, also a picture in little church in the catacomb of Massimo, crowning S. Felicity and her seven children. Bovini, *Le antichità cristiane della fascia costiera istriana*, 41-42.

²³⁶ Terry and Maguire, *Dynamic Splendor*, 117-125.

of the founder of the church, Bishop Euphrasius, or a particular healing location. It is possible that the inclusion of the saints results from the interest shown in them by Justinian I.

The second image is fragmentary and heavily restored. It is the apse mosaic of S. Michele in Africisco in Ravenna that was dedicated May 7, 545.²³⁷ The mosaics, currently in Berlin, are not original due to the unfeasibly complicated journey and series of interventions they have been through since 1844 when they were removed from the wall in Ravenna.²³⁸ Some disparate fragments of mosaic have been identified as part of the original programme, but SS. Cosmas and Damian are not among them.²³⁹

Nineteenth-century drawings made before the mosaics were detached give some idea of what they looked like, but at this time the saints were only visible

²³⁷ S. Michele in Africisco was founded by Julianus Argentarius. In the *Liber Pontificalis Ecclesiae Ravennatis* written by Andreas Agnellus just before the ninth century, the biography of bishop Maximian (546-557) mentions a church dedicated to the *beati Archangeli Michaelis*. It was dedicated 7 May 545 but Maximian was not bishop until 546. Perhaps the church was inaugurated in 545 and consecration could have been later. Giuseppe Bovini, "S. Michele in Africisco di Ravenna" *Corsi di Cultura sull'Arte Ravennate e Bizantina* 16 (1969) 81-96. San Michele in Africisco was founded 545 by Giuliano Argentario and General Bacauda and consecrated 547. Viktor Lazarev, *Storia della pittura bizantina* (Torino, 1967) 83. Arne Effenberger, *Das Mosaik aus der Kirche San Michele in Africisco zu Ravenna* (Berlin, 1989).

²³⁸ The mosaics were sold to the Prussian King Friedrich Wilhelm IV in 1842 and were taken down in 1844 when they were taken to Venice for restoration and cleaning prior to being shipped to Berlin for display in the *Staatliche Museen*. The mosaics in Berlin do not seem to be genuine, so something happened in the interim. Irina Andreescu-Treadgold believes Giovanni Moro, who was meant to restore them most likely sold the few pieces of the original he had managed to salvage and sent fakes to Germany. Irina Andreescu-Treadgold, "The Wall Mosaics of San Michele in Africisco, Ravenna Rediscovered" *Corsi di Cultura sull'Arte Ravennate e Bizantina* 37 (1990) 13-58.

²³⁹ A head of Christ from the V&A and two heads of archangels, Michael and Gabriel, in the Museo Torcello and maybe an angel in the Hermitage. Andreescu-Treadgold, "The Wall Mosaics of San Michele in Africisco, Ravenna Rediscovered" 27-42. Robin Cormack in *Byzantium: Treasures of Byzantine Art and Culture from British Collections*, David Buckton, ed. (London, 1994) 80-82.

from the waist up (Figure 10).²⁴⁰ The apse was decorated with an image of Christ between two angels. The triumphal arch has another image of Christ on the upper register; lower down flanking the conch are full-length images of SS. Cosmas and Damian. Cosmas, on the left, is young, clean-shaven with short dark hair. He wears a long white tunic and purple brown mantle that covers one shoulder. Damian has short dark hair and a beard and also wears a white tunic with a darker garment over it. Both saints hold something in their hands, Damian's may be a book or roll of instruments.

Another of the earliest surviving portrayals of SS. Cosmas and Damian is in Thessalonike where the saints are included in a series of early martyrs as part of the mosaic decoration in the church of *Hagios Georgios*. *Hagios Georgios* is thought to have been transformed into a church in the late fourth or early fifth century, during the time of Theodosius the Great (379-395).²⁴¹ The mosaics in the dome, which are dated variously from the late fourth to the early sixth century, were possibly completed as part of the transformation of the building into a

²⁴⁰ Enrico Pazzi drawing from 1842-1843. Effenberger, *Das Mosaik aus der Kirche San Michele in Africisco*, 49.

²⁴¹ The rotunda was originally part of the palace complex of Emperor Galerian, built in the early fourth century, and is thought to have been either a mausoleum or throne room. Theodosius was the last Emperor of the time to use the city as an imperial residence. Dyggve, "Fouilles et Recherches faites en 1939 et en 1952-53 à Thessaloniki," 79-88. W. Eugene Kleinbauer, "The Iconography and the Date of the Mosaics of the Rotunda of Hagios Giorgios, Thessaloniki," *Viator* 3 (1972) 27-108. Paola Cattani, *La Rotonda e i mosaici di San Giorgio a Salonicco* (Bologna, 1972) 1-2, 7-22. Hans Peter L'Orange, "I mosaici della cupola di Hagios Georgios a Salonicco" *Corsi di Cultura sull'Arte Ravennate e Bizantina* 17 (1970) 257-268.

church.²⁴² If the mosaics are from before the second quarter of the fifth century, they predate any recorded mention of the cult of SS. Cosmas and Damian.

SS. Cosmas and Damian appear in the lower register of the dome mosaic amongst a number of other martyrs (Figure 11).²⁴³ The saints all stand before rich and fantastical architectural backdrops, a city of Paradise, and are accompanied by Greek inscriptions indicating their name, profession and the month in which they were celebrated. SS. Cosmas and Damian are in the southwest zone of the mosaic and although the inscription beside Cosmas is missing, by Damian it reads: "Damian, physician, month of September." They wear the same clothing as the other martyrs in the scheme with civil professions, a long mantle covering both shoulders over a tunic.²⁴⁴ The doctors are depicted at different ages, with Damian having short dark hair and beard and Cosmas being significantly older with grey hair and beard.

Based on these few mosaic images that survive in various degrees of disrepair, it is possible to draw some conclusions about the earliest examples of the iconography of Cosmas and Damian. The examples are not consistent in

²⁴² Krautheimer believes it was turned into a church around 400 or 450 when a chancel and apse were added, an ambulatory built, in brick faced concrete, and the walls of the niches were pierced. Richard Krautheimer, *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture* (London, 1986) 78. For a similar Theodosian dating see also: Hjalmar Torp, *Mosaikkene I St. Georg-Rotunden I Thessaloniki*, (Oslo, 1963). Dyggve, "Fouilles et Recherches faites en 1939 et en 1952-53 à Thessaloniki," 81-83. L'Orange, "I mosaici della cupola di Hagios Georgios a Salonicco," 257-268. Cattani, *La Rotonda e I mosaici di San Giorgio a Salonicco*, 110-113. Cormack, *Writing in Gold*, 85.

²⁴³ Some of the saints are unidentifiable or lost, but those that are known are: Leontios, Filemone, Filippo, Terino, Cyril, Onesiphoros, Porphyrios, Basil, Priscus, Cosmas, Damian, Ananias, Eucarpione, Romana. Cattani, *La Rotonda e I mosaici di San Giorgio a Salonicco*, 53-59. Kleinabuer, "The Iconography and the Date of the Mosaics of the Rotunda of Hagios Giorgios," 44.

²⁴⁴ Distinct from the martyrs that were soldiers and officials. L'Orange, "I mosaici della cupola di Hagios Georgios a Salonicco" 265. Pallia are reserved for those on the next register up.

terms of their physical appearance, costume and attributes. These early representations form part of an emerging iconography that did not draw on an existing artistic tradition or any tradition of knowledge of the appearance of the saints. This period is one that Hans Belting describes as the “prehistory of the icon”. Although some very important Christian figures like St. Peter can be seen to have an established portrait type from the fourth century, the appearance of many saints remained changeable.²⁴⁵ For example although there is a more dominant version of their physical appearance, visible in the mosaics at *SS. Cosma e Damiano* in Rome, of two men of younger middle age with dark hair and beards, there is room for quite significant variation such as at *Hagios Giorgios* in Thessalonike where Cosmas is conspicuously older than Damian. At *Hagios Giorgios* in particular Robin Cormack has been noted that the martyrs represented did not yet reflect the “established individual portrait types which were subsequently used in later portrayals of the same saints.”²⁴⁶ The costume varies as well. In Rome the saints wear the same sort of classical pallium worn by the more senior religious figures of Peter, Paul and Christ, whereas in Thessalonike and Ravenna they wear similar garments to those saints with secular professions. Medical attributes, while clearly providing the most obvious identifying feature for the saints, are also not present in every example.

²⁴⁵A figure like the Virgin Mary had a more established history of appearance based on the belief that St. Luke painted her portrait while she was alive. Belting, *Likeness and Presence*, 49, 115, 132. Saint Demetrios, whose images actually predate existing hagiographic records, had an appearance that was completely manufactured through pictorial means, a construction of society rather than an historical likeness. Cormack, *Writing in Gold*, 86.

²⁴⁶Cormack, *Writing in Gold*, 86.

Part 3: *Santa Maria Antiqua* and an established iconography.

Several centuries later, by the time of the frescoes at *Santa Maria Antiqua* and some of the earlier painted panels from St. Catharine's Monastery at Mount Sinai, the iconography appears more settled. SS. Cosmas and Damian appear twice in the frescoes of the Chapel of the Holy Physicians in the Diakonikon at *Santa Maria Antiqua*. They are painted along with other popular physician saints such as SS. Cyrus and John and S. Panteleimon. The anargyroi were invoked together in Greek liturgy and their portrayal as a group was common in images from this time.²⁴⁷ The frescoes in question have been dated to the time of Pope John VII (705-707).²⁴⁸ They have remained in situ due to the church being abandoned in the ninth century.²⁴⁹

Cosmas and Damian are included in a long frieze of saints that extends along the west and north walls (Figure 12 and Figure 13). The saints identified in the grouping include SS. Barachisius, Dometius, Panteleimon, John, Celsus, Cyrus, Cosmas and Damian as well as at least two unidentified saints. The figure of Cosmas is largely destroyed and is identified through the inscription next to his halo. There is more remaining of Damian who is portrayed with short dark hair and beard. Enough of his garments remain to identify a yellow tunic covered on one shoulder by a purple pallium. The clothing is consistent with most of the

²⁴⁷ Heinz Skrobucha writes that Cosmas and Damian appeared, "whenever the space in Greek churches would permit..." Skrobucha, *The Patrons of the Doctors*, 27-28.

²⁴⁸ The frescoes are dated to the time of John VII (705-707). Per Jonas Nordhagen, "The Frescoes of John VII (AD 705-707) in S. Maria Antiqua in Rome" *Acta ad Archaeologiam et Artium Historiam Pertinentia* 3 (Rome, 1968).

²⁴⁹ An earthquake made the church unusable at the time of Leo IV (847-855). Krautheimer, *Corpus Basilicarum VII*, 252.

other saints in the chapel; those who are distinguished through more specific costume are saints who were ecclesiastics or court officials. For example Panteleimon, a physician at the Imperial court wears courtly garments and Dometius has the hood of a monk. A further unidentified saint carries a cross and has tonsured hair.²⁵⁰

Nothing is left of the attributes that were held by Cosmas and Damian, but the other saints in the frieze help demonstrate what those attributes would have been. They all carry medical items, the most common of which is the case that held surgical implements seen in three drawings by Per Jonas Nordhagen (Figure 14).²⁵¹ These instrument cases are rectangular in shape, often with a lid, and they have a strap attached to ears on each side of the top to carry them. In two tenth-century Byzantine ivory triptychs surgical instruments can be seen standing in the cases held by Cosmas and Damian giving a clearer illustration of how they would have functioned (Figure 15 and Figure 16).²⁵² The surgical instruments would have been a variety of types commonly used at the time, several of which can be seen in some ninth to twelfth-century examples from Byzantine Corinth (Figure 17). They included knives, often used as lances or phlebotomes, spatulas and probes as well as several bifurcated instruments that were used to stretch

²⁵⁰ Nordhagen, "The Frescoes of John VII" 57-63; Knipp, "The Chapel of Physicians," 3-4.

²⁵¹ Nordhagen, "The Frescoes of John VII" 57-63; Knipp, "The Chapel of Physicians," 3-4.

²⁵² The *Harbaville Triptych* in the Louvre (centre 242 x 142 mm, wings 217 x 69, 217 x 73 mm) includes the saints in medallions on the outside of the left wing. D. Gaborit-Chopin, *Ivoires médiévaux Ve.-XVe. Siècle, Musée du Louvre, Département des Objets d'Art Catalogue* (Paris 2003) 86-93, No 16 (Harbaville Coll.1891). The second triptych, the *Romanos Ivory*, 10th C, at the *Cabinet des Médailles* in Paris includes Cosmas, Damian and Panteleimon in medallions on the inside of the wings. All three hold surgical boxes and scalpels. Lowden, *Early Christian and Byzantine Art*, 215, 218.

openings. Although the majority of interventions were confined to the outside of the body, sixth and seventh century surgery was quite adventurous with operations for things like hernia, tumors and bladder stones taking place.²⁵³

The second image at Santa Maria Antiqua in which SS. Cosmas and Damian are present is a fresco of medical saints painted in a niche on the south wall of the Chapel of the Holy Physicians (Figure 18). The five saints, again identified by Greek inscriptions, are Cosmas, Cyrus, Stephen, Procopius, and Damian. The upper part of S. Cosmas is quite well preserved (Figure 19). He has short hair and a beard and moustache and wears a yellow-red tunic and purple-red pallium. In his right hand is a white scroll and in his left his surgeon's case with a long carrying strap (Figure 20). The other saints are fragmentary and only bits are visible. Cyrus has remains of a purple cloak, Stephen's hand holding a censer is visible and a long white garment, and Damian has traces of a dark purple garment.²⁵⁴

David Knipp suggests that this particular image could be a replica of a more famous, unknown, eastern prototype. The practice of reproducing famous icons in fresco has been described at Santa Maria Antiqua by Hans Belting who identifies several wall paintings that have characteristics that show them to have received liturgical veneration. He believes these to be representations of original

²⁵³ Lawrence J. Bliquez, "Two Lists of Greek Surgical Instruments and the State of Surgery in Byzantine Times" *DOP* 38 (1984) 187-194.

²⁵⁴ Nordhagen, "The Frescoes of John VII" 64-66. Knipp, "The Chapel of Physicians" 4-5.

panel paintings known to the donor.²⁵⁵ An example can be found in the representation of S. Cyrus frescoed in a niche in the atrium (Figure 21).²⁵⁶ The half-length portrait of the saint holds an open medical box and a scalpel. In front of the fresco is a shelf or sill with a recessed space that most likely contained relics associated with the saint.²⁵⁷ It seems most likely that the shelf in front of the painting contained relics associated with the saint. It has been suggested that they were surgical tools of the specific type depicted in the image.²⁵⁸

Although most of the images in question are individual portraits of saints there are some larger examples with more figures, for example a Crucifixion in the private chapel patronised by Theodotus, papal administrator in the mid-eighth century. The Crucifixion repeats the composition of contemporary icons at Mount Sinai.²⁵⁹ Knipp believes the fresco of the five saints in the Chapel of the Holy Physicians was created in the same way. Like the Crucifixion it is a self-sufficient image occupying a niche in a prominent position in the chapel.²⁶⁰ Unlike the Crucifixion, which is above the altar, the fresco of the five doctors starts at floor level. This could reflect the type of veneration the image received, perhaps from

²⁵⁵ Usually individual portraits of saints situated at eye level, evidence of cult practice in things like shelves in front of image for lamps or candles, gold bits attached to important parts of image like the mouth. Belting, *Likeness and Presence*, 115-116.

²⁵⁶ Knipp discusses the icon in depth, "The Chapel of Physicians" 17-23.

²⁵⁷ Eva Tea, *La Basilica di Santa Maria Antiqua*, (Milan, 1937) 112.

²⁵⁸ Eva Tea describes the objects, now lost that were discovered during excavations. Tea, *La Basilica di Santa Maria Antiqua*, 112.

²⁵⁹ Belting specifically compares it to an eighth-century icon of the Crucifixion at St. Catherine's Monastery, Sinai (B 32, B 36, B 50). He flags up the theological difference, in the Sinai examples Christ has closed eyes and the example in Rome he has them open. Belting, *Likeness and Presence*, 115-121, Fig. 70 and 71.

²⁶⁰ The Crucifixion is on the East wall of its chapel in a niche above the altar in a position to receive liturgical veneration. Belting, *Likeness and Presence*, 120-121. The Holy Doctors appear in a niche looking toward the East and the image is what the viewer saw upon entering the chapel from the western aisle. Knipp, "The Chapel of Physicians" 9-11.

people at floor level, perhaps people undergoing the ritual of incubation.²⁶¹

Although no collection of miracles comparable to those recorded at Kosmidon exists, it seems plausible that the practice of incubation also took place at *Santa Maria Antiqua* in Rome.²⁶² Knipp points out that the Chapel of the Holy Physicians in the Diakonikon was decorated after the establishment of two deaconries in the immediate area and the imagery could be linked to care for the sick that took place at those *diaconiae*.²⁶³ In this way it was similar to the church in Constantinople that included an infirmary on its premises. *Santa Maria Antiqua*, including its many depictions of medical saints, served the Greek community in Rome, particularly at the time of John VII.²⁶⁴ It is likely that the traditional form of worship of these physician saints, involving incubation, occurred in Rome as well.

Further proof is to be found in the miracle of the black leg, the only western addition to the hagiography of SS. Cosmas and Damian. This miracle,

²⁶¹ Knipp, "The Chapel of Physicians" 12.

²⁶² Knipp points out that although common to the cults of Cosmas and Damian and Abbacyrus and John, incubation was not known of in Italy due to the lack of written evidence. Knipp, "The Chapel of Physicians," 11-12.

²⁶³ Diaconiae, including that at *Santa Maria Antiqua* and *S. Teodoro* were established around 600, they often served to care for the sick and pilgrims. Some of the earliest surviving medical imagery which is in the nave is dated to the mid seventh century, a few decades after the establishment of the diaconiae. Around 750 A.D. the patron of the large private chapel in the church was Theodotus, who served as administrator of the diaconia. Knipp, "The Chapel of Physicians," 7-9. Romanelli and Nordhagen also link the healing function of the medical iconography to the establishment of the diaconia, when the work of helping the poor and sick passed from civil to ecclesiastical authority. Pietro Romanelli, Per Jonas Nordhagen, *S. Maria Antiqua* (Rome, 1964) 25.

²⁶⁴ The church was at the foot of the Palatine Hill and was associated with the Byzantine administration that was housed there. In the sixth and seventh century the Byzantine Quarter was housed between the Palatine and the Torre delle Milizie. Also there was a wave of Greek immigration after the Arab conquest of Alexandria in 641. John VII was Greek. Knipp, "The Chapel of Physicians," 2.

which appeared in the legends sometime after the ninth century, includes echoes of the practice of incubation. Here a man, a devoted servant of Cosmas and Damian, was healed miraculously by the saints who appeared in a vision and performed a dramatic surgical procedure on him while he was asleep in the church of *SS. Cosma e Damiano* in Rome. While it seems likely the form of worship occurred in Rome, it is clear from the written evidence found in miracle tales and saints' lives that a specific format of image is not required in order to trigger the dream visions necessary for successful incubation.

A new consistency in the iconography is evident through comparisons to contemporary icons at St. Catharine's Monastery at Mount Sinai. The first Sinai example is an icon of S. Damian dated by Weitzmann to the seventh century (Figure 22). This panel was originally the right wing of a triptych and Cosmas can be assumed to have occupied the left wing. A fragment of the centre panel reveals S. John holding a surgeon's case. Damian, with dark hair and beard, wears a long purple tunic and brown mantle that was covered by gold striation. In his right hand he holds an instrument roll tied with purple strings.²⁶⁵ Second is an eighth-century image of Cosmas, which has been identified as forming the left wing of a triptych, presumably was paired with an image of Damian on the right (Figure 23). Again other medical saints could have appeared in the central panel, as at *Santa Maria Antiqua*. Here Cosmas is youthful with dark hair and beard and

²⁶⁵ B18. 35.3x10cm. Weitzmann identifies the object held by Damian as a tubular instrument box. Kurt Weitzmann, *The Monastery of Saint Catherine at Mount Sinai. The Icons. Volume I From the Sixth to the Tenth Century*, (Princeton, 1976) 44.

he wears a long dark mantle over a white tunic. He holds a scalpel in his right hand, a jewelled codex in his left arm and a roll in his left hand.²⁶⁶

SS. Cosmas and Damian are also included in seventh century frescoes in a funerary chapel at the St. Apollo monastery at Bawit, Egypt.²⁶⁷ The enthroned Virgin and Child are portrayed amongst angels in the apse of the chapel. On each side is a pair of saints. Cosmas and Damian stand to the right of the main figures (Figure 24 and Figure 25).²⁶⁸ Both saints are of a similar age with short dark hair and beards. Cosmas wears a long white tunic and red mantle and Damian wears a long yellow mantle. Each saint holds a tied roll in both hands.

Further frescoes of SS. Cosmas and Damian, dated to between the sixth and ninth century, appear in the oratory at the cemetery of S. Lucia in Syracuse in Sicily.²⁶⁹ The two doctor saints, identified by the remains of Greek inscriptions, appear amongst a series of saints including SS. Marcianus, Helen, Joseph, Hippolytus and Nicholas. Cosmas and Damian have short dark hair and beards and both wear white tunics and red *pallia* (Figure 26 and Figure 27).²⁷⁰ Each saint holds a long pointed instrument, possibly a scalpel in his right hand and holds a tied scroll or roll in his left. Resting in the left arm of each is an instrument case

²⁶⁶ B 47. Palestinian School, 45x12.2cm, 8th C or later. Weitzmann, *The Monastery of Saint Catherine at Mount Sinai. The Icons I*, 77.

²⁶⁷ Chapel 28. Jean Clédat, *Le monastère et la nécropole de Baouît I/2* (Cairo, 1906) 153-157. Nordhagen also points out St. Philotheus in Chapel 17 at Bawit who holds a scalpel and medical box. Nordhagen, "The Frescoes of John VII" 58.

²⁶⁸ On the left are an unidentified saint and S. Pamoun of Diakôle. Clédat, *Le monastère et la nécropole de Baouît*, 157.

²⁶⁹ Paolo Orsi, *Sicilia Bizantina I* (Rome 1942) 78. Kaftal says sixth to seventh century. George Kaftal, *Iconography of the Saints in Central and South Italian Schools of Painting* (Florence, 1965), 323-325. Nordhagen says ninth century. Nordhagen, "The Frescoes of John VII," 58.

²⁷⁰ Orsi, *Sicilia Bizantina I*, 78. Giuseppe Agnello says the inscriptions are mostly illegible. Giuseppe Agnello, *Le Arti figurative nella Sicilia Bizantina*, (Palermo, 1962) 162-165.

with long carrying straps, very similar to those at Santa Maria Antiqua (Figure 28).

The similarities in the images at *Santa Maria Antiqua*, Saint Catherine's Monastery at Sinai, Bawit and Sicily certainly reveal an emerging consensus on the visual appearance of the saints. In the depictions described thus far the saints appear together, most often young or middle-aged men with dark hair and beards. They wear long tunics and mantles, although occasionally they appear wearing *pallia* over their robes. The clothing is unremarkable as compared to saints with religious, courtly or military costume and reflects the fact that they were known only for being physicians in the hagiography. For example even within the group of anargyroi, martyrs such as SS. Cyrus and John were often represented in monastic clothing and S. Panteleimon who was a court official as well as a doctor and is most often portrayed in Byzantine court costume.

The saints wear long robes, usually a dark cloak or mantle over a contrasting tunic, the version of the costume with the pallium, seen for example at SS. *Cosma e Damiano* in Rome, had virtually disappeared. In many examples the mantle seems to have an opening cut for the neck, rather than just being draped. Kurt Weitzmann describes this variation as a sort of professional mantle, but it does not appear to be a consistent uniform in any sense.²⁷¹ This type of mantle can be seen in a panel of S. Damian from the S. Catherine Monastery at Sinai dating to the first half of the tenth century. Here Damian wears a brown

²⁷¹ In early Sinai icons Weitzmann describes Cosmas and Damian as wearing normal tunic and mantle, rather than the one with the neck hole. Weitzmann, *The Monastery of Saint Catherine at Mount Sinai I*, 77.

mantle over a lighter tunic and holds a scalpel and instrument case in which further scalpels are visible (Figure 34).²⁷² By the tenth or eleventh century this type of mantle, which seems to have become standard, is often accompanied by an epitachelion or stole which hangs from the necks of the saints, giving the garments a slightly more ecclesiastical aspect. The mantle and epitachelion are clearly visible in the November 1 illustration from the *Menology of Basil II* (Figure 7). The costume is typical of saints, such as SS. Cosmas and Damian, who do not have a religious or military background.

The most distinctive feature of the early iconography of Cosmas and Damian is the use of medical attributes. The medical objects used, items such as scrolls and medical cases or boxes, would have been familiar to contemporary physicians. In a relief from a fourth-century marble sarcophagus from Ostia a seated physician sits in front of an open cabinet reading a scroll. In the open cabinet in front of him several more scrolls are visible and on top of the cabinet a case for instruments is also open (Figure 29).²⁷³ The scrolls are particularly popular in early images of healing saints and probably refer to their medical learning.²⁷⁴ The long tied object is also identified in some cases as a tied instrument roll and this attribute persists for longer than the scroll. Other

²⁷² B. 55. 28x8.6cm, The back of the right wing of a triptych. There is no inscription but the saint is identified as Damian rather than Cosmas on the basis that it was on the right hand side. Weitzmann, *The Monastery of Saint Catherine at Mount Sinai I*, 88-89.

²⁷³ Jackson, *Doctors and Diseases*, 73. Medical manuscript illustrations tended to be dependent on classical precedents and the doctors are not as likely to be presented as working physicians. Vikan, "Art, Medicine and Magic in Early Byzantium," 65

²⁷⁴ Skrobucha thought the scroll was reference to the fact that the saints dealt with spiritual health as well as physical. It resembles the scroll carried by apostles and prophets in other images. Skrobucha, *The Patrons of the Doctors*, 35.

instruments represented in tomb reliefs include boxes of surgical instruments, cupping vessels, jars, boxes and the equipment necessary for drug preparation.²⁷⁵

A further illustration of a bronze medical box, of the type used to store substances rather than instruments, is worth including at this point (Figure 30).²⁷⁶ Although not the choice of artists to portray with medical saints at this time, in the subsequent centuries various forms of pharmacological boxes and jars became popular attributes.

The hagiographic tradition associated with SS. Cosmas and Damian emphasized their profession as physicians, albeit healing both body and soul. The cult practice as described in the miracles also strongly supports the identification of Cosmas and Damian as doctors as well as indicating the importance of recognizable images in incubatory practice. In arriving at an iconography for SS. Cosmas and Damian early artists and churchmen reinforced the continuity of the role of the saints as miraculous healers without recalling too strongly the imagery associated with their pagan competitors such as Asclepius and the Dioscuri. There are perhaps hints of influence, for example David Knipp finds echoes of a facial type used to represent Sarapis and Asclepius at the Chapel of Physicians Santa Maria Antiqua, but on the whole the portrayal of Cosmas and Damian is quite different.²⁷⁷ Sculptures were the most common images in pagan healing

²⁷⁵ Jackson, *Doctors and Diseases*, 74.

²⁷⁶ Bronze medical box with sliding lid and internal compartments, Ralph Jackson, *Doctors and Diseases*, 75. Ralph Jackson, "Roman doctors and their instruments: recent research into ancient practice" *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 3 (1990) 5-27

²⁷⁷ The head of the central figure in the frescoed frieze on the west wall of the Chapel of the Physicians is compared to images of Sarapis and Asclepius. The saints may also be wearing a similar cap to that worn by Sarapis. Knipp, "The Chapel of Physicians," 15.

centres and Asclepius was most frequently represented as a mature, bearded man with a cloak across his left shoulder and his staff and serpent as distinguishing attributes (Figure 31).²⁷⁸ Asclepius also occasionally appears with other attributes including a cockerel, dog, goat, and the *omphalos* (navel of the earth).²⁷⁹ Healing was only one of the incarnations of Castor and Pollux who were usually shown as warriors in helmets with weapons and often with horses.²⁸⁰

The tools themselves however did occur in pre-Christian iconography as can be seen in a marble votive relief from the Asclepion in Athens. This image includes two cupping instruments and a set of surgical tools clearly visible in an open box (Figure 32).²⁸¹ The presence of the tools of a doctor helped reinforce confidence in their ability to cure.²⁸² There does also seem to have been some choice exercised by artists and patrons, as certain very common medical items such as cupping instruments do not turn up in these images whereas other items such as surgical cases and pots for pharmaceuticals go through phases of popularity. The importance of the tools is also apparent in their presence in the shelf in front the frescoed icon of S. Cyrus in the atrium of Santa Maria Antiqua (Figure 21).

²⁷⁸ Ralph Jackson describes classical sculptures of Asclepius being portrayed in the manner chosen for formal portraits of Roman physicians. Jackson, *Doctors and Diseases*, 138-142.

²⁷⁹ J. Schouten, *The Rod and Serpent of Asklepios Symbol of Medicine* (Amsterdam 1967) 24-48.

²⁸⁰ Maurice Albert, *Le Culte de Castor et Pollux en Italie*, (Paris, 1882). They also often appear with a female deity. Tyler Jo Smith, "Votive Reliefs from Balbura and its Environs" *Anatolian Studies* 47 (1997) 3-14. Fernand Chapouthier, *Les Dioscures au Service d'une Déesse*, (Paris, 1935).

²⁸¹ Jackson points out there are five scalpels and what appears to be a bone lever. Jackson, *Doctors and Diseases*, 115.

²⁸² Hans Belting points out this purpose of medical instruments with respect to S. Panteleimon. Belting, *Likeness and Presence*, 241.

Such a consensus possibly reveals traces of lost prototypes, images that would have been well known and already understood to be effective, that would have been influential in the formation of the iconography. The idea of recognition implicit in many of the miracle tales suggests that in images from the most famous sanctuary of the saints, Kosmidon in Constantinople, there was a consistent manner of representing the saints at that place. Following Justinian's renovation of the church in the mid-sixth century it was an enormously successful healing shrine as contemporary accounts attest, and the most successful shrine dedicated to Cosmas and Damian and it is here that would be the most likely place for prototypes to have developed. The miracles describe painted images that triggered dream visions and the repetition of such images in a manner that is similar to existing images at S Demetrios in Thessalonike.

Once established the iconography remained consistent over the subsequent centuries, particularly in the aftermath of the iconoclastic controversy in the East, when iconography was more strictly controlled.²⁸³ In the ninth and tenth century examples the attributes remain similar to those from the seventh and eighth centuries. The saints often hold a scalpel, scrolls, rolls and the sort of instrument case seen at Santa Maria Antiqua with the long straps.

²⁸³ After the council of 787 iconography was more regulated. To make worshippers recognize specific saints. Cyril Mango, "Icons," *The Oxford History of Byzantium*, 151-152. Niceae II not only restored the cult of icons but made it obligatory. That forced artists to follow established formulas otherwise the icons would not be 'true' icons. Patricia Karlin-Hayter, "Iconoclasm" *Oxford history of Byzantium*, 153-162. After iconoclasm the standardized icon was reintroduced as an instrument of church doctrine. West different, empire existed since 800, different doctrine of images had been advanced. Belting, *Likeness and Presence*, 27.

In the eleventh and twelfth century images the scalpels remain important, but the style of instrument cases shifts to a longer, often more box-like shape (Figure 38). The other main addition is the portrayal of containers intended to hold substances used by doctors in their treatments. There are a variety of types including pots or jars for unguents and boxes for pharmaceuticals. The jars are often accompanied by a more appropriate spatula or spoon rather than a scalpel (Figure 43).

Throughout southern Italy SS. Cosmas and Damian are included in a number of painted church interiors from the eleventh to thirteenth centuries. With some variation of attributes, the types and clothing of the saints remains the same. Although often in Basilian foundations, the doctors are included in groupings of saints that reflect regional variations and frequently appear as sole representatives of the anargyric groups of the Byzantine liturgy.²⁸⁴

SS. Cosmas and Damian can be found in the remains of the decorations in the eleventh or twelfth-century crypt of the church of S. Leonardo in Massafra near Taranto (Figure 44).²⁸⁵ The half-length figures of SS. Cosmas and Damian are amongst a series of representations of saints including SS. Peter, Nicholas of

²⁸⁴ SS. Cosmas and Damian have been identified amongst the saints present in the frescoes at the twelfth or thirteenth century Cripta del Redentore at Taranto. Cosmas appears with Greek inscription at S. Vito Vecchio in Gravina, also in Puglia in the late thirteenth early fourteenth century frescoes. Both saints are included in the eleventh to fourteenth century decorations in the Cripta of S. Maria degli Angeli di Poggiardo in Lecce. G. Gabrieli, *Inventario Topografico e Bibliografico delle Cripte eremitiche Basiliane di Puglia* (Rome, 1936). Angelo Labriola points out that the Basiliani were very devoted to SS. Cosmas and Damian. Angelo Labriola, *I Santi Cosma e Damiano: Medici e Martiri* (Rome, 1984) 36. See also Pazzini, *Storia dell'insegnamento medico in Roma*. Biagio Pesole, *I Santi Medici Cosma e Damiano ed il loro culto in Conversano. Note Storiche* (Mezzina - 1972 – Molfetta) 45.

²⁸⁵ P. Luigi Abatangelo, *Chiese-cripte e affreschi Italo-Bizantini di Massafra* (Taranto, 1966) 135. Twelfth to thirteenth century Kaftal, *Iconography of the Saints in Central and South Italian Schools of Painting*, 324, fig. 350.

Bari, Anthony Abbot and Paul the Hermit, Andrew, Margaret and possibly Leonard. Cosmas and Damian are positioned under the central arch facing the altar and the saints are named in vertical Latin inscriptions.²⁸⁶ Damian has short dark hair and a beard and wears a long tunic with a mantle that covers one shoulder. He holds a long instrument in his right hand, possibly a scalpel, lancet or spoon.²⁸⁷ In his left is a medical jar again of the type that held substances rather than instruments (Figure 45). Cosmas is similar to Damian in appearance and is holding a medical jar and a long spatula or spoon as well (Figure 46).

Another example found in Calabria is in the thirteenth-century frescoed decorations of the church of *Sant'Adriano* in San Demetrio Corone that formed part of a tenth-century Basilian monastic foundation. The saints that appear have been identified through iconography as well as a seventeenth century list of relics held of saints that were venerated there. Those pictured include Basil of Cesearea, Gregory of Nyissa, Nicolas of Myra, SS. Cosmas and Damian, Gregory the Nazarene, Vitus, Biagio and Nilus of Rossano.²⁸⁸

At Calvi Rosorta near Naples, two further examples of the inclusion of SS. Cosmas and Damian in a group of saints can be found. S. Cosmas is included in the eleventh-century frescoes in the *Grotta dei Santi*, holding a medicine box

²⁸⁶ Espedito Jacovelli, *Gli Affreschi Bizantini di Massafra* (Massafra, 1960) 18-20.

²⁸⁷ Abatangelo identifies it as a pen, Abatangelo, *Chiese-Cripte e Affreschi Italo-Bizantini di Massafra*, 138. Kaftal identifies it as a lancet or spoon. Kaftal, *Iconography of the Saints in Central and South Italian Schools of Painting*, 324.

²⁸⁸ The church was mostly constructed in the first half of the eleventh century. The frescoes were discovered 1939 and restored 1955. Caterina Martino, "Paesaggi e monumenti della Calabria bizantina" in Valentino Pace, ed. *Calabria Bizantina* (Rome, 2003) 47-75, 72-75.

and a lancet (Figure 47).²⁸⁹ SS. Cosmas and Damian are also included in frescoed decoration at the tenth-century chapel of *SS. Martiri* at Cimitile. The remains of the painting of S. Cosmas are fragmentary, but S. Damian can be seen in long robes holding a scalpel in his right hand (Figure 48).²⁹⁰ At Cimitile Cosmas and Damian appear with the anargyric saints Pantaleimon and Anastasia.²⁹¹

Finally, the appearance of the saints in several twelfth century mosaics in Norman Sicily deserves consideration. SS. Cosmas and Damian are included in the mosaic programmes at the Capella Palatina and the Martorana or church of Saint Mary's of the Admiral in Palermo, and at the Cathedral at Monreale. Their appearance is consistent with the assertion that craftsmen and artists were imported from Byzantine centres such as Constantinople to carry out the decorative work, particularly the mosaics.²⁹² In all three examples Cosmas and Damian are included with SS. Cyrus and John, Hermolaos and Panteleimon in the traditional and frequently seen grouping with the anargyric saints of the Byzantine liturgy.²⁹³

²⁸⁹ The artist is identified as being from the Campanian school. Kaftal, *Iconography of the Saints in Central and South Italian Schools of Painting*, 323-325, fig. 351. Amongst the other saints included are Michael, Castrense, Silvester, Onofrio, Peter, Paul, John the Evangelist, Stephen, Massimo, Barbara, Simon. Helen, John the Evangelist, Nicholas, Michael, Peter, Donato

²⁹⁰ Most of the paintings were completed at the time of the restoration and erection of the porch by Bishop Leo III from Nola at 900. Hans Belting, *Die Basilica dei SS. Martiri in Cimitile und ihr frumittelalterlicher Freskenzyklus*, (Wiesbaden, 1962). Adriano Prandi, *L'Art dans l'Italie méridionale. Aggiornamento dell'opera di Émile Bertaux IV* (Rome, 1978) 184-185.

²⁹¹ Anastasia the Farmacist may also appear with the other medical saints at Santa Maria Antiqua. Maria Falla Castelfranchi, "Il programma iconografico del ciclo leonino della cappella detta dei Ss. Martiri a Cimitile e un'ipotesi sulla sua funzione," *Kronos* 13 (2009) 1-4.

²⁹² John Lowden explains how Abbot Desiderius sent envoys to Constantinople after 1066 to find craftsmen and artists to work at Montecassino. Lowden, *Early Christian and Byzantine Art*, 336-346.

²⁹³ Demus points out that in most Greek churches the Anargyroi appear together, either in pairs or groups of three. Otto Demus, *The Mosaics of Norman Sicily* (London, 1949) 89 n.94. Kitzinger

The Capella Palatina was at the centre of the palace complex of Roger II, and was decorated by him in the 1140s although some was completed later under his son William I. The design of the chapel combines a more centralized Byzantine church and a longitudinal nave and aisles decorated with narrative cycles like those found in the basilicas of central and southern Italy. The decorative programme incorporates elements from both traditions as well as local Arab decorative styles.²⁹⁴ The Dome mosaics, where the anargyric saints are found are decorated with a Byzantine programme with Christ Pantokrator in the centre surrounded by a hierarchical arrangement of evangelists, prophets and saints in descending order. The inscriptions are mainly in Greek and the mosaics were laid by Byzantine mosaicists, although the second Pantokrator who appears in the apse holds open a book bearing an inscription in both Latin and Greek.

The six medical saints appear on the undersides of the two arches leading to the transepts.²⁹⁵ On the northern arch are full-length figures of SS. Cosmas and Damian and a medallion of S. Panteleimon and on the southern full-length SS. Cyrus and John and a medallion of S. Hermolaos. SS. Cosmas and Damian are portrayed in early middle age with short dark hair and beards (Figure 39 and Figure 40). They wear long tunics with darker mantles over the top. Cosmas

highlights a similar grouping at Hagios Nikolaos tou Kasnitzi in Kastoria. Ernst Kitzinger, *The Mosaics of St. Mary's of the Admiral in Palermo*, *Dumbarton Oaks Studies* 27 (Washington, D.C., 1990) 160.

²⁹⁴ It is often compared to the lost abbey church of Montecassino that was dedicated in 1071. William Tronzo, *The Cultures of His Kingdom. Roger II and the Capella Palatina in Palermo* (Princeton, 1997). Lowden, *Early Christian and Byzantine Art*, 309-316.

²⁹⁵ Demus, *The Mosaics of Norman Sicily*, 25.

holds a scroll in both hands and Damian holds a tall, rectangular medical box and a scalpel.²⁹⁶

The mosaics at the *Martorana*, or Saint Mary's of the Admiral are contemporary to those at the Capella Palatina and were likely executed by the same craftsmen. It was built by a man called Giorgios, chief minister to Roger II, who was buried there in 1151.²⁹⁷ The church was the Katholikon of a nunnery dedicated to Mary. Giorgios was of Syro-Greek extraction and Greek clergy presided there, the Latin and Arabic elements from the Capella Palatina are not present. At the *Martorana* most of the saints included come from the Greek calendar whereas at the *Capella Palatina* saints from Sicily and South Italy were also included. In terms of iconographic types at both churches they agree with those found at Mount Sinai.²⁹⁸

At the *Martorana* the healing saints were included on the end walls of the transepts. There are full-length images of SS. Cyrus and John flanking a medallion bust of S. Hermolaos on the south and a similar arrangement of SS. Cosmas and Damian with a bust of S. Panteleimon on the north. Cosmas and Damian were destroyed when a window was enlarged, but enough of the inscription remains to identify them.²⁹⁹ Cyrus and John each wear a lighter tunic

²⁹⁶ Panteleimon, Cyrus and John also hold scalpels and medical boxes, but their boxes have a domed lid. Ernst Kitzinger, *I Mosaici del Periodo Normanno in Sicilia I: La Capella Palatina di Palermo, I Mosaici del Presbiterio* (Palermo, 1994) Fig. 124,125. Skrobucha mentions tower-like boxes in several Greek examples, two from the sixteenth century. Skrobucha, *The Patrons of the Doctors*, 25.

²⁹⁷ Demus, *The Mosaics of Norman Sicily*, 73.

²⁹⁸ Kitzinger, *The Mosaics of St. Mary's of the Admiral*, 161-163.

²⁹⁹ Damian's feet and the inscription identifying him remain as original. Kitzinger, *The Mosaics of St. Mary's of the Admiral*, 299.

under dark mantle and hold a scalpel and medical case (Figure 37 and Figure 38).³⁰⁰

The Cathedral in Monreale was much bigger than the previous two examples but the mosaics followed a similar scheme. It was built by Roger II's grandson William II who endowed it in 1176 and occupied the Benedictine monastery with monks from La Cava in Salerno which was a daughter house to that of Cluny in Burgundy. William II was also buried there.³⁰¹

Here, as at the Capella Palatine, Greek, Latin and Arabic elements found their way in.³⁰² Many of the saints were from the Byzantine calendar but Sicilian and South Italian saints were also incorporated.³⁰³ Christ Pantokrator in the semi dome of the apse holds a bilingual text as at the Capella Palatina. Below him sits a Virgin and child (Theotokos) flanked by archangels and then apostles with bishops, the deacons and saints appear below on the prebytery walls in a hierarchy that is no longer rigidly Byzantine. The nave, transept and aisle walls displayed narrative cycles. There were eight saints included in the anargyric group painted in the passages that lead off the main bay of the sanctuary. They were the same six as in the earlier two churches plus SS. Sergius and Bacchus. The saints, here named in Latin inscriptions, are very similar in type and costume to those at the Capella Palatina. Cosmas holds a jewelled medical box with a

³⁰⁰ Most martyrs wear tunic and chalmys, departures from this are for a reason for example Cyrus and John often have monastic clothing. Kitzinger, *The Mosaics of St. Mary's of the Admiral*, 164, 300. Demus, *The Mosaics of Norman Sicily*, 73-89. Lowden, *Early Christian and Byzantine Art*, 317-325.

³⁰¹ Lowden, *Early Christian and Byzantine Art*, 329-335.

³⁰² The blending of the Western and Islamic motifs is more refined. Tronzo, *The Cultures of His Kingdom*, 152.

³⁰³ Demus, *The Mosaics of Norman Sicily*, 321-323.

domed lid and a long instrument, a scalpel or possibly a spoon (Figure 41).

Damian also holds a jewelled box with a pyramidal lid and a scalpel (Figure 42).³⁰⁴ These medical boxes or containers are of a type more likely to hold substances than instruments and in some cases such as in the image of S. John, are clearly accompanied by a spoon rather than a scalpel (Figure 43).³⁰⁵

Part 4: The early dispersion of the cult of SS. Cosmas and Damian in Italy.

Of the anargyroi, SS. Cosmas and Damian had the most success on the Italian peninsula, as well as the rest of Western Europe.³⁰⁶ Through this research a database has been compiled to keep track of recorded dedications to SS. Cosmas and Damian in Italy before the fifteenth century (Appendix B). This working summary is intended to give a sense of the spread and distribution of the cult. The locations that are known are to be considered in three chronological groups. The first group marks the initial entry point of the cult in the fifth and sixth centuries, the second indicates the early spread through the peninsula between the seventh and eleventh centuries and the third group indicates the dedications from the twelfth to the fourteenth centuries, incorporating information from the *Rationes Decimarum*. Each dedication is dated by the earliest recorded notice that has been found in the research and further dedications are added as they are identified. A

³⁰⁴ Ernst Kitzinger, , *I Mosaici del Periodo Normanno in Sicilia III: Il Duomo di Monreale* (Palermo, 1994) fig. 230, 231.

³⁰⁵ Kitzinger, , *I Mosaici del Periodo Normanno in Sicilia III*, Fig. 233.

³⁰⁶ From Gregory of Tours onward there are numerous sanctuaries and claims to hold relics through France and Germany. *AASS VII*, 446-448.

fuller picture is formed when such information as survives about relics and images is considered as well.

It is clear that although there was evidence for knowledge of the cult in Ravenna, Rome was the most significant entry point for SS. Cosmas and Damian. Following the sixth century there were several sanctuaries in the city dedicated to the saints.³⁰⁷ One of the largest was the Benedictine monastery of *SS. Cosmae et Damiani trans tiberium* or in *Mica Aurea* founded in the tenth century by Benedetto Campanino on his own property. The area, now Piazza Cosimato, seems to have been a burial ground in the sixth century and it is likely that Campanino's foundation was built on the site of an earlier dedication to the two saints. Einsiedeln visited something on the site *Mica Aurea* in the eighth century maybe an earlier monastery or maybe a *xenodochium* or chapel attached to the burial ground. In 1234 the monastery was given to the Poor Clares and abbess Orsola Formicini wrote the first history of the monastery in the seventeenth century. She records seeing thirteen documents dating from 685 to 944, three of which have been verified more recently. Formicini's evidence testifies to the existence of S. Cosimato in the eighth and ninth century as a monastic foundation supported by archaeological evidence of an ecclesiastical building from the ninth century.³⁰⁸

³⁰⁷ There were several early dedications to SS. Cyrus and John as well, whose cult was imported with the small church of S. Passera built to house the relics of the saints in the ninth century. The relics were moved to Naples in the seventeenth century.

³⁰⁸ The mosaic floor could be as early as the sixth century but the remaining ecclesiastical furniture reused in the medieval church dates only from the first half of the ninth century. In 1875-1896 it became a hospital in the suppression. Joan Barclay Lloyd and Karin Bull-Simonsen

Further Roman examples include *SS. Cosmae et Damiani in Xenodochio Tucio*, mentioned in the biography of Leo III (795-816),³⁰⁹ Although *xenodochia* were mostly for rest and recovery of pilgrims and travellers, there is evidence that many of them also provided some measure of medical care either by monks, secular clergy or lay practitioners.³¹⁰ In the eleventh century in Rome there is mention of doctors at xenodochium providing a range of treatment.³¹¹

There was also *SS. Cosmae et Damiani iuxta viam Latam* that appears in the *Registrum Sublacense* in 973 and was later the object of a long conflict in the eleventh century between the clerics of S. Marcello and the Abbott of the monastery of S. Sepolcro di Aquapendente.³¹² An oratory called *SS. Cosmae et Damiani ad Asinum Frictum* appears in the *Regestum Sublacense* in 938 was amongst the urban churches subject to the Benedictine abbey of S. Erasmo and was still listed in the twelfth century as subject to that abbey.³¹³

Einaudi, *SS. Cosma e Damiano in Mica Aurea: architettura, storia e storiografia di un monastero romano soppresso* (Rome, 1998) 13-14, 28-34, 42-46.

³⁰⁹ Location not known. *LP* 2 98: "oratorium sanctorum Cosmae et Damiani qui ponitur in xenodochio/ium qui appellatur Tucium." Christian Huelsen, *le Chiese di Roma nel Medio Evo* (Florence, 1927) 242-243.

³¹⁰ Pazzini shows instances of xenodochium as quasi hospitals. He also claims that in many xenodochi there were chapels and oratories dedicated to SS. Cosmas and Damian. The *Xenodochio Tucium* or *Tocium* was mentioned in a papal bull as an *Ospedale*. Pazzini, *Storia dell'insegnamento medico in Roma*, 172-174.

³¹¹ Loren MacKinney, *Early Medieval Medicine with special reference to France and Chartres*, (Baltimore, 1937) 55, n.100, 74-76.

³¹² "ecclesia...Sancti Cosmae et Damiani...posita infra hanc civitatem Romae sta iuxta via lata." The records disappear after the twelfth century. Huelsen, *le Chiese di Roma*, 241-242.

³¹³ In a description of the monastery of S. Erasmo sul Celio: "a quarto latere domucella in qua est oratorio SS. Cosmae et Damiani." Another document from the *Regestum* says: "domus in qua est oratorium SS. martyrur Cosmae et Damiani posita Romae regione II iuxta formam Claudia." *Asinum frictum* occurs in the twelfth century in a description of churches and oratories subject to S. Erasmo, "SS. Cosmae et Damiani ubi dicitur asinum frictum". Huelsen, *le Chiese di Roma*, 239.

Several further early dedications to SS. Cosmas and Damian were linked to Benedictine foundations and Benedictine interest in the saints was a part of the early spread of the cult. It was believed that Benedict himself established the connection to the saints and there is a concentration of dedications in the area of Subiaco. Tradition says one of the twelve monasteries mentioned by Gregory I in his *Life of Benedict* as being founded by the saint in the early sixth century was dedicated to SS. Cosmas and Damian.³¹⁴ However, the earliest time the foundation dedicated to SS. Cosmas and Damian was actually mentioned by name is in the ninth century under Leo IV (847-855) when the *Liber Pontificalis* lists some items (*una vesta e tre veli de fundato*) given to the monastery of S. Silvester, S. Benedict and S. Scholastica at Subiaco and to the church of SS. Cosmas and Damian also at Subiaco.³¹⁵ *S. Cosma de Civitella*, now *SS. Cosma e Damiano in Tagliacozzo*, was already in the possession of Monte Cassino in the time of Abbot Bertharius (856-883).³¹⁶ *SS. Cosma e Damiano at Vicovaro* also called S. Cosimato, SS. Cosmae et Damiani in Cave, S. Cosimati in valle

³¹⁴ Gregory describes twelve monasteries as being built by Benedict but does not name them. Umberto Moricca, ed., *Gregori Magni Dialogi, Libri IV*, (Rome, 1924) 84. Honoratus, who was abbot of an unnamed monastery at Subiaco at the time of Gregory I was described in the fifteenth century having rebuilt *SS. Cosma e Damiano*. P. Egidi, G. Giovannoni, F. Hermanin, *I Monasteri di Subiaco I* (Roma, 1904) 56.

³¹⁵ "Santi Cosma e Damiano quae ponitur in locoqui vocatur sublacu". Moricca, *Gregori Magni Dialogi*, 76, n.I.

³¹⁶ S. Cosmae de Ci, also S. Cosmae de Ellereto as a possession of the monastery of S. Angelo in Barrea. In c.970 S. Angelo of Barrea became a dependency of Monte Cassino, the convent of S. Cosmas then appears regularly in letters, however the name remains unstable and it is also called S. Cosmae in Clereto. Also S. Cosmae in Silva and by 1097, S. Cosmatis in Civitella. In 1172 the pope, in dealing with the abbess, calls her "abbatissa monasteri S. Cosmae de Talliacotio" at this time the convent was taken under special protection of the Holy See and its possessions were confirmed. Herbert Boch, *Monte Cassino in the Middle Ages I* (Roma, 1986) 329-333. Cottineau says first mention is 980, a privilege of Othon II. L.H. Cottineau, *Répertoire Topo-Bibliographique des Abbayes et Prieurés II*, (Macon, 1935) 3112.

Tiburtina in the area of Subiaco in the diocese of Tivoli was considered by some to be the foundation from Benedict's time described by Gregory I but this seems unlikely.³¹⁷ The oldest document for this foundation is a tenth century privilege of Leo VII that confirmed the possessions of the monasteries of Subiaco.³¹⁸

In Brescia there was an abbey of Benedictine women dedicated to the saints documented from the ninth century.³¹⁹ The *Acta Sanctorum* mentions relics that were meant to have been given by Charlemagne to the Benedictine Abbey of Novalesa near Torino in Piedmont.³²⁰ In Como in the eleventh century there was a church dedicated to the saints as part of the Benedictine abbey of *S. Abbondio*. Although there are earlier foundations below it, the existing building dates to the eleventh century. The building is documented from 1208 as a dependant of *S. Abbondio*.³²¹

Further early dedications are found spread throughout Italy with records coming most frequently from monastic establishments and from urban centres.

³¹⁷ Also called S. Cosimato, SS. Cosmae et Damiani in Cave, S. Cosimati in valle Tiburtina. Mabillion and Mirzio believed it to be the original foundation. Caraffa, ed. *Monasticon Italiae I*, 192

³¹⁸ Under monasteries of Subiaco, "ecclesia sanctorum Cosme et Damiani" Reg. Subl. Doc.17. A monastery is first mentioned in a breve of Marino II in 945 that confirms to the bishop of Tivoli the right to collect/ to draw canons from numerous foundations. It mentions "monasterium sanctorum Cosme et Damiani." A carta refutationis of 971 mentions "Domnus Leone humilis presbyter et monachus atque abbas venerabilis monasterii sanctorum Christi martyrum Cosmae et Damiani quod situm est in cave..." appeared (Reg. Subl. Doc.185). Leone appears in a further document of 983 (Reg. Subl. Doc.186). Caraffa, ed. *Monasticon Italiae I*, 192 (n.289)

³¹⁹ A ninth century privilege of Louis II to Abbess Amalberga. It was demolished in the thirteenth century, rebuilt and in 1495 was subject to the abbey of SS. Faustina. Cottineau, *Répertoire Topo-Bibliographique I*, 488. Maurizio Rosada, *Lombardia et Pedemontium. Rationes Decimarum Italiae nei secoli XIII e XIV* (Vatican City, 1990) 653.

³²⁰ Stilling cites the *Chronicon Novalisciensi*. *AASS VII*, 445.

³²¹ Mina Gregori, *Pittura a Como e nel Canton Ticino dal Mille al Settecento*, (Milan, 1994), 258-9. Cottineau records it as a Benedictine abbey from 1010. Cottineau, *Répertoire Topo-Bibliographique I*, 848.

Bologna had a Camaldolite monastery dedicated to the saints from the eleventh century.³²² The monastery also claimed some relics, amongst several relics claimed in Bologna.³²³ In Rimini there was a church called *La Crocina* that was said to have been founded in the sixth century. The original church was dedicated to the Cross, but by the eleventh century it was dedicated to SS. Cosmas and Damian as well.³²⁴ A Genovese church, dedicated to the saints, was documented from 1049, however the current church is thought to have been preceded by others on the same site dating back to the sixth or seventh century.³²⁵ In Pisa there was an early eleventh-century monastery dedicated to SS. Cosmas and Damian amongst other saints.³²⁶ There may also have been a chapel in the city dedicated to SS. Cosmas and Damian in the eleventh century but the earliest document is 1258.³²⁷ Further early centres were found in the south in Conversano in Puglia

³²² S. Damiani de ponte fari/ pontem ferri or SS. Cosme et Damiani ad pontem ferri, sC.1007. Cottineau, *Répertoire Topo-Bibliographique I*, 414. Also in 1300, Angelo Mercati, Emilio Nasalli-Rocca and Pietro Sella, eds. *Aemilia. Rationes Decimarum Italiae nei secoli XIII e XIV* (Vatican City, 1933) 2384.

³²³ The church dedicated by Camaldolites also celebrated the feast of the saints with full indulgences. Relics are also claimed in S. Giovanni in Monte. S. Stefano, SS. Giuseppe e Ignazio. *AASS VII*, 445.

³²⁴ The church, in the diocese of Timotea/Themotea, seems to have been established in 592. Cottineau, *Répertoire Topo-Bibliographique II*, 2466. Luigi and Carlo Tonini, *Storico-Artistica di Rimini IV ed. Con illustrazioni* (Rimini, 1909), 152.

³²⁵ The earliest document describes the titular saint as Damian alone. Sandro Chierici, Diulio Citi, *Il Piemonte, La Val d'Aosta, La Liguria. Italia Romanica 2* (Milan, 1978) 430.

³²⁶ In 1027, St. Matthew, SS. Cosmas and Damian, and St. Lucy was established by Tentha, wife of Idiberto. In 1111 the bodies of the martyrs Mamilian, Lustre and Vendemius were translated from the island of Montecristo. Cottineau, *Répertoire Topo-Bibliographique II*, 2288. Ildeberto Albizio, 19 January 1028, gave to the monastery the same gifts already offered by his wife specifying that the church be dedicated to several saints: Benedetto, Matteo, Cosimo, Damiano and Lucia, that were the patrons of the cenobio. It was called the monastery of St. Matthew. Cinzio Violante, *Economia, società, istituzioni a Pisa nel Medioevo : saggi e ricerche*, (Bari, 1980) 25-27.

³²⁷ The church was destroyed 1943-44 bombings but was rebuilt in 1962 Emilio Tolaini, *Forma Pisarum. Problemi e ricerche per una storia urbanistica della città di Pisa*, (Pisa, 1967) 79, 148. Violante puts it in thirteenth/fourteenth century. Violante, *Pisa nel Medioevo*, 49.

which is believed to have been established from at least 1000 and a cult centre in Oria from the ninth century.³²⁸

Their brief appearance in the mosaics at San Marco in Venice belies further interest in the saints in that city at the time.³²⁹ *San Giorgio Maggiore* claimed to have significant parts of the bodies of SS. Cosmas and Damian brought from the east under Abbot Pasquale in the year 1154. Abbot Pasquale expanded the jurisdiction of the monastery with the acquisition of *San Marco d'Emboli* in Constantinople in 1151 and the church of *Santa Maria de' Monti* near Capodistria. Flaminio Corner in the eighteenth century explains that the bodies or major parts of the bodies of the saints were contained in a silver vessel of Greek manufacture in which amongst the bones and ashes were discovered two lead plates with the names of SS. Cosmas and Damian incised in Greek characters.³³⁰ The documentation is absent and the translation only appears in a few sources but a few accounts survive that support the assertion, amongst them a fifteenth century Antiphonary from the Paduan church of Santa Giustina. It includes Antiphons for the *Office for the Translation of SS. Cosmas and Damian* (fol.1-33) and says the bodies of SS. Cosmas and Damian were brought from the East to the

³²⁸Local historians affirmed that on the road to Santa Susanna, 3km from the city, there was a village called San Cosmo with a chapel dedicated to the saint. The whole village was destroyed at the beginning of the tenth century. He says the old church became the sacristy of the eighteenth century one. Pesole, *I Santi Medici Cosma e Damiano*, 53.

³²⁹SS. Cosmas and Damian appear in medallions the twelfth-century mosaics in the narthex of San Marco. Otto Demus, *The Mosaics of San Marco in Venice*, 4vols (Chicago, 1984). Skrobucha, *The Patrons of the Doctors*, 32.

³³⁰ The relics of SS. Cosmas and Damian were translated to the new Palladian Church it in 1593 on April 6. Corner says Maurolico lists the translation of these bodies on 10 May, 1154 and other martyrologies concur. Flaminio Corner, *Notizie Storiche delle chiese e monasteri di Venezia, e di Torcello* (Padua, 1758) 474-484.

Benedictine monastery of S. Giorgio Maggiore in Venice in the twelfth century.³³¹

S. Giorgio Maggiore was generous with the relics giving some to the Benedictine abbey of SS. Cosmas and Damian established in 1481 on the island of Giudecca. They claim part of the shoulder of Cosmas and the cranium of Damian.³³² Relics were also translated to the church of San Giovanni in Olio, called San Giovanni Nuovo, the cranium of Cosma and jaw of Damian.³³³ San Giorgio Maggiore also gave relics to the nuns of the Paduan monastery of Santa Maria della Misericordia.³³⁴

By the time of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries and the more comprehensive records provided by the *Rationes Decimarum* it is clear that sanctuaries dedicated to SS. Cosmas and Damian existed throughout Italy. The saints were popular as early martyrs and miraculous healers and remained by far the most successful of the anargyroi, with cult centres spreading geographically from the early urban centres. Of note is the fact that there is little evidence of the cult in Tuscany and that there was a noticeable concentration of dedications between Montecassino and Salerno, particularly around Salerno and Naples.

³³¹ Brooke Antiphonal, dated 1460-70. Society of Antiquaries of London MS 450. Jonathan J.G. Alexander, ed. *The Painted Page: Italian Renaissance Book Illumination 1450-1550*, Ex. Cat. Royal academy of Arts London, 27 October 1994-22 January 1995 (London, 1994) 232. *AASS VII*, 443-444.

³³² Sixtus IV in a papal bull 7 May 1481 allows for the foundation it was consecrated 1583 Cottineau, *Répertoire Topo-Bibliographique*, 3320-3327. Corner, *Notizie Storiche delle chiese e monasteri di Venezia*, 531-533.

³³³ The parochial church of a Trevisan family had been founded in 968 but the relics seem to be linked to the reconsecration of the church in 1650. They claim the cranium of Cosmas and the jaw of Damian. Corner, *Notizie Storiche delle chiese e monasteri di Venezia* 48-49, 474, *AASS VII*, 443-444.

³³⁴ Corner, *Notizie Storiche delle chiese e monasteri di Venezia*, 474.

Amalfi in the kingdom of Naples claimed significant relics at the church of S. Andrea.³³⁵

Their popularity in the region most likely predates the records of the *Rationes*. The saints appeared in several Italo-Byzantine frescoed church interiors discussed above and interest in the cult at Montecassino was already established with an original dedication to the saints there and several nearby. The Capanian region was highly urbanised in the period leading up to the twelfth century and this was a time when the region experienced significant movement of people particularly in and out of the coastal towns. The confluence of a strong Greek community and region of medical expertise, particularly in the monastic community may have resulted in a stronger presence of Cosmas and Damian.

At Montecassino interest in medical knowledge was strong. Through the sixth and seventh centuries monastic foundations generally had taken an interest in medicine with many providing care for sick or infirm brethren.³³⁶ At Montecassino there was also a tradition of medical scholarship as and in the ninth century Abbot Bertharius produced medical compilations that combined information from classical hippocratic treatises as well as popular remedies and

³³⁵ “maxima pars corporis sanctorum Cosmae et Damiani...” Johannes Stilling, “De SS. Cosma, Damiano, Anthimo, Leontio et Euprepio MM” *AASS VII*, 445.

³³⁶ In Benedict’s rule provision is made for caring for infirm members of the monastic community. Anne F. Dawtry, “The Modus Medendi and the Benedictine Order in Anglo-Norman England” *Studies in Church History 19 The Church and Healing* (1982), 25-38, 26. Cassiodorus, also detailed the provision of care for sick monks and encouraged the brothers to make use of classical medical knowledge as well as contemporary knowledge and prayer when caring for the infirm. At Vivarium during his lifetime he encouraged the integration of sacred and profane literature. Dawtry, “The Modus Medendi” 26-27. MacKinney, *Early Medieval Medicine*, 50-52. He had a copy of Dioscorides, Patricia Skinner, *Health and Medicine in Early Medieval Southern Italy*, (Brill, 1997) 127.

advice on diet.³³⁷ Bertharius himself had trained at Salerno and Salerno, a geographic focus for dedications to SS. Cosmas and Damian, acted as a centre for the dissemination of Greek and Arabic medical texts in the Latin West. Constanine Africanus (1015-1087) who arrived at Salerno as a physician in the eleventh century also eventually retired to Montecassino, translating Greek medical works out of Arabic into Latin.³³⁸

Enclaves with considerable Greek populations helped with the preservation of Greek texts in the area around Salerno, enhanced by Montecassino where Arabic texts were translated as well as by the presence of Greek monks at various foundations.³³⁹ Monastic institutions, particularly Eastern ones were the focus of much medical activity such as SS. Sergius and Bacchus in Naples as well as the convent of S. Gregory the Armenian which also had an infirmary.³⁴⁰ Other infirmaries are documented by the early twelfth century at S. George in Salerno, S. Nicolas at Bari and S Lucia at Terlizzi. It is difficult to ascertain how much medical practice took place at each centre, some mainly tended to pilgrims, such as those set up by the Teutons and St. John Hospitallers and some provided relief for the needy but some centres such as the monastery at

³³⁷ Similar work was carried out by Abbot Grimaldus at St. Gall. MacKinney, *Early Medieval Medicine*, 49-53. Constaninus Africanus (1015-87).

³³⁸ Later translations incorporated Greek texts from Greek speaking areas of Southern Italy. Roger French, *Medicine Before Science: The Rational and Learned Doctor from the Middle Ages to the Enlightenment* (Cambridge, 2003) 65-66. Ralph from Salerno later became a monk at Tours. Dawtry, "The Modus Medendi" 27-28.

³³⁹ Patricia Skinner mentions S. Nicolas of Gallucanta, St. John by the sea and St. Benedict in Salerno. Skinner, *Health and Medicine*, 127-144.

³⁴⁰ Lay practitioners remain mostly undocumented at this time but some must have existed.

Cava in the mountains above Salerno and Cefalu in Sicily seem to have actually treated the ill.³⁴¹

The iconography of SS. Cosmas and Damian that did emerge through the seventh and eighth centuries borrowed elements from portrayals of practicing physicians rather than recalling too closely the imagery associated with the pagan healing cults that had been supplanted. The saints were portrayed together, most often young or middle-aged men with dark hair and beards wearing the long tunics and mantles of a lay professional. They commonly were shown holding medical objects, such as scrolls and medical cases or boxes of the type used by contemporary physicians. Once established it remained very consistent, following the Byzantine types seen at Santa Maria Antiqua and Mount Sinai with iconography found in centres of strong Byzantine influence. The persistence of these types is apparent in the examples discussed from Southern Italy and Sicily. Change is apparent in a thirteenth or early fourteenth century fresco from the ruined church of SS. *Andrea e Procopio* at Monopoli in Puglia. Here SS. Cosmas and Damian appear quite different from the Italo-Byzantine images considered thus far. Both saints wear long red and green robes with fur shoulder-pieces and caps marking an early examples of the appearance of the saints that would become commonplace in the fourteenth century (Figure 49).³⁴²

³⁴¹ Particularly in the eleventh century monasteries were accomodating old and ill individuals who would retire there, bringing their wordly wealth with them. Skinner, *Health and Medicine*, 79-104.

³⁴² Suor Ildegarda Capone, "Il culto dei sant medici nella Puglia," abstract from conference presentation given at *2nd International Congress. Iconography and veneration of Saints Cosmas and Damian 29th-30th September and 1st October 2006* (Mercogliano, Altavilla, Nusco (Avellino)) 5.

Chapter 3. Saints as Physicians: an identifiable late medieval iconography.

By the fourteenth century, Italy, like other countries in Western Europe, had developed a specific iconography of Cosmas and Damian that reflected the appearance of contemporary doctors. A mid-fourteenth century fresco in Como provides an early surviving example (Figure 50).³⁴³ Here the saints appear in the apse decoration of a small church dedicated to them that forms part of the substantial Benedictine monastic complex of *S. Abbondio*. In this fresco Cosmas and Damian stand on either side of the Virgin and Child along with a bishop saint, likely Abbondio, patron of the monastery and S. Agatha. A tiny figure of what appears to be a child in secular clothing kneels at the Virgin's feet. The image has been extensively restored and what remains of the original is fragmentary however the costume is easily discernible.³⁴⁴ Cosmas, to the left wears a long red fur-lined cloak over a magenta robe. He has a magenta hood and shoulder-piece; the shoulder-piece is also extensively decorated in fur. Damian wears a long magenta fur-lined cloak over a red robe and has a red fur-trimmed shoulder-piece and hood. Cosmas is holding a tall box or jar for medications and Damian holds a uroscopy flask.

Some aspects of the appearance of Cosmas and Damian are consistent with earlier images. In the main the saints are represented together and appear to be brothers. They remain, most frequently, men of younger middle age with dark

³⁴³ The fresco has been attributed to an unknown Lombard painter, active ca.1340. Gregori, *Pittura a Como e nel Canton Ticino dal Mille al Settecento*, 104.

³⁴⁴ Gregori, *Pittura a Como e nel Canton Ticino dal Mille al Settecento*, 258-259.

hair although the facial type is no longer closely related to the examples at Santa Maria Antiqua. The most significant changes to the late-medieval iconography of Cosmas and Damian have to do with the costume worn by the saints and they attributes they were portrayed with. Such changes in appearance are not exclusive to these saints; rather they are consistent with broader developments in Italian art. S. Ivo of Brittany, patron of lawyers and notaries, also appears in very similar professional clothing having been a lawyer in his lifetime. Of course S. Ivo had only died in 1303 and Cosmas and Damian were martyrs from the early church.³⁴⁵ A further comparison may be found in a fifteenth-century Viterban fresco of the SS. Secundianus, Marcellianus and Varianus, patrons of the town of Tuscania, third-century martyrs habitually represented as magistrates and scholars here portrayed in contemporary scholarly dress (Figure 60).³⁴⁶

This chapter will examine the fourteenth and fifteenth century iconography of the saints, including the changes to their costume as well as the variety of attributes that accompany them. Although the costume is almost always that of the highest level of the profession, the attributes reveal their association with the entire medical profession as they appear with surgical and pharmaceutical items as well. The particular case of Florence will also be discussed as there is a much more consistent version of the iconography that

³⁴⁵ Ivo of Kermartin d. 1303, canonized 1347. Further research remains to be done here as Ivo and Cosmas and Damian are in a very select group of saints known mainly for their professions.

³⁴⁶ Marcellianus is often an official and the other two appear as students or scholars. The remains of these three saints were at S. Pietro at Tuscania/Toscanella. The fresco is from the Crypt of S. Pietro at Tuscania. Kaftal, *Iconography of the Saints in Central and South Italian Schools of Painting*, 1007-1008.

emerges there. Cosmas and Damian were by far the most successful of the anargyroi in the West, and although they remained popular as healers, they had a role that developed beyond that of their compatriots.³⁴⁷ They along with the famous scriptural doctor Luke acted as patrons to the medical profession. The fifteenth century marks the appearance of documented examples of doctors using the iconography of SS. Cosmas and Damian in artistic commissions. The chapter will conclude with a discussion of the instances of doctors as patrons and the relationship between doctors and their saintly counterparts.

Three further examples help to describe the details of the appearance of the saints in the fourteenth century. First, Cosmas and Damian are included in a Riminese polyptych, dated to ca.1370 (Figure 51).³⁴⁸ This altarpiece has been identified as originally coming from the little church called *La Crocina* that from the eleventh century was dedicated to both the Cross, and to SS. Cosmas and Damian.³⁴⁹ Here the central Crucifixion is flanked by full-length representations of SS. Cosmas and Catherine of Alexandria on the left and SS. Barbara and Damian on the right. The inscriptions identifying the saints under the five panels

³⁴⁷ The relics of SS. Cyrus and John were believed to have brought to Rome in the fifth century (although Sophronius cites them elsewhere in the seventh century) and the church of Santa Passera (corruption of Abba Ciro) held them, but they are moved to Naples in 1601. S. Pateleimon's blood is held in Ravello where the Duomo is dedicated to S. Pataleone and there is a church dedicated to him in Venice.

³⁴⁸ Attributed to the anonymous Maestro di Montefiore now in the Museo della Città in Rimini. (101x157cm) Dated 1370, based on style and costume. Danieli Benati ed., *Il Trecento Riminese: Maestri e botteghe tra Romagna e Marche* (Milano, 1995) 280-281. P.G. Pasini, *La Pinacoteca di Rimini* (Rimini, 1983) p. 59. P.G. Pasini, *La pittura riminese del Trecento*, (Rimini, 1990) 156-157. Carlo Volpe, ed. *Pittura a Rimini tra gotico e manierismo: recupero e restauro del patrimonio artistico riminese: dipinti su tavola: Rimini, Sala delle Colonne, agosto-ottobre 1979* (Rimini, 1979) 28-29.

³⁴⁹ The panel arrived in the museum via a female orphanage called the Convitto di Casa Soleri. Danieli Benati, *Il Trecento Riminese*, 280-281, n.58. Pasini, *La pittura riminese del Trecento*, 156-157. Tonini, *Storico-Artistica di Rimini*, 152.

are now indistinguishable but they are visible in a photo taken before a restoration in the 1970s.³⁵⁰ Cosmas is wearing a long red cloak with fur lining and a small fur collar over a yellow robe. He also has a red beret that falls almost to his shoulders with variegated fur trim. Damian also has a long red fur-trimmed robe over a black garment, the sleeves of which are visible. He has a black hood and shoulder piece with more fur round his shoulders and face. Cosmas is holding a small medical box that is divided into three compartments and long pincers. Damian holds a palm frond symbolising his martyrdom.

Second is the fresco in the *Sala del Consiglio* of the *Palazzo dei Priori* in Volterra (Figure 52 and Figure 52). The fresco was painted by Jacopo di Cione and Niccolo di Pietro Gerini and is dated to 1383.³⁵¹ SS. Cosmas and Damian appear to the left of a central Annunciation. On the right are SS. Justus and Octavian who were also patrons of the city.³⁵² Cosmas and Damian became patrons following their intercession on behalf of the citizens of Volterra when they prevented a sacking of that town by the Florentines on their feast day, September 27 in 1254.³⁵³ The practice of adopting a patron due to a military

³⁵⁰ Carlo Volpe, *La pittura riminese del Trecento* (Milan, 1965) 89, fig.309.

³⁵¹ Richard Offner and Klara Steinweg, *A Critical and Historical Corpus of Florentine Painting IV/III* (New York: 1965) 116. Plate XI. Ezio Solaini, *Sommario della Storia e Guida del Museo e della Città di Volterra* (Volterra, 1927).

³⁵² Early thirteenth century statutes mention feasts of Ioannes, Iustus, Lucca, Maria, Matheus, Michaelis, Octavianus. Enrico Fiumi, ed., *Statuti di Volterra* (1210-1224) (Florence, 1951) 13-14. In 1253-54 SS. Octavian and Justus are again mentioned as city patrons Ezio Solaini, "Lo Statuto del popolo di Volterra" *Archivio Storico Italiano* 50 (1912) 3-38. Fedor Schneider, ed. *Regestum volaterranum in Regestum Chartarum Italiae* (Rome, 1907).

³⁵³ Annibale Cinci, *Storia di Volterra* (Volterra, 1885; reprint Bologna, 1977) 11-12.

victory on his or her feast day was well known in the thirteenth century.³⁵⁴ In 1383 the annual festival of SS. Cosmas and Damian was moved from the cathedral to be celebrated by civic officials in front of this fresco.³⁵⁵ The relocation of the feast from the cathedral to the seat of civic authority seems to indicate a continuing link between these patrons and the commune and its autonomy.

In the painting SS. Cosmas and Damian are both clean-shaven young men, but are not identical. They wear long, red cloaks lined with fur. Both have wide fur shoulder ornaments and have fur around the hem of their cloaks. Cosmas, on the left, has a long yellow tunic under his cloak and wears a shoulder-length dark beret trimmed with fur. Damian wears a shorter beret that is also trimmed with fur. Each saint holds a book and a palm.

A final fourteenth-century example is found in a Florentine panel of ca. 1370, attributed to the Master of the Rinuccini Chapel or Matteo di Pacino.³⁵⁶ In the main image the saints are shown full length with God the Father above them

³⁵⁴ Diana Webb, *Patrons and Defenders: The Saints in the Italian City-States* (London, 1996) 148-155.

³⁵⁵ The celebration returned to the cathedral after the Council of Trent. Cinci, *Storia di Volterra*, 11-12.

³⁵⁶ (134x77.8cm) Now in Raleigh, North Carolina. It was a Kress acquisition in 1939 and has been in the North Carolina Museum of Art since 1960, Fern Rusk Shapley, *The Complete Catalogue of the Samuel H. Kress Collection: Italian Paintings XIII-XV Century* (London, 1966) 35-6, fig. 79-81, K1171. She doesn't speculate as to where it originated. It came this century from a private collection in Budapest where it was exhibited in Dec. 1937-Jan. 1938. Kaftal mentions one of the predella panels as being in the Rudolf Bedó Collection in Budapest in 1937-1938 in an exhibition entitled "Early Italian Art". George Kaftal, *Iconography of the Saints in Tuscan Painting* (Florence, 1952) 289-296, fig. 332. Also , *Italian Pictures of the Renaissance: Florentine School* (London, 1963) 143 and Offner and Steinweg, *Corpus of Florentine Painting, IV/III*, 116 n.3. Master of the Rinuccini chapel may be Matteo di Pacino active 1350-1375. North Carolina Museum of Art, *Introduction to the Collections* (Raleigh, 1992) 161.

placing a hand on each of their heads (Figure 54). The brothers are very similar in appearance and are both young men with short dark beards and moustaches. Both are wearing full-length fur-trimmed pink cloaks over blue tunics and blue shoes. The saint on the left wears a blue hood while the one on the right wears a long blue beret, both again trimmed with fur. The clothing is also decorated with gold embroidery on collars, cuffs and hems. Both saints hold books.

The predella contains two scenes from the Life of SS. Cosmas and Damian. They are the *Martyrdom of SS. Cosmas and Damian* and the posthumous *Miracle of the Black Leg* (Figure 55 and Figure 56). The hagiographical content is generally consistent with the version of the tale found in the thirteenth century *Golden Legend* by Jacobus da Voragine, but details are omitted, such as the presence of SS. Cosmas and Damian's three brothers at the beheading (Appendix A). In this panel the two saints are depicted kneeling before the proconsul Lysias in the dramatic moment after one of the two brothers has been beheaded and the soldier raises his sword to despatch the other.

The other predella panel, the miracle, is divided into two scenes of continuous narrative. On the right hand side of the image SS. Cosmas and Damian can be seen in the cemetery holding the amputated leg of the dead Ethiopian. The Ethiopian, visible in his coffin, has already had his own leg replaced by the cancerous white leg of the ill churchman. There are two onlookers present, presumably those who verified the transplantation in the legend. In the left hand scene the churchman can be seen lying in bed with a

doctor and a surgeon beside him. The black leg has already been attached and SS. Cosmas and Damian, holding the books they hold in the main panel, stand next to the bed. One of them gestures toward the patient. Again two female onlookers are present. This is one of the oldest surviving depictions of the miracle of the black leg, which became the most popular and most easily identifiable of the miracles in western European painting.

Part 1: Costume.

Through these examples it is clear that the most distinctive feature of the iconography is the rich costume worn by the saints. Characteristically the long, hooded robes and the beret are most frequently red, pink, blue or black and are usually trimmed with fur. This costume reflected what physicians wore at the time. In the predella from the Florentine panel by the Master of the Rinuccini Chapel a doctor and a surgeon are pictured attending the bedside of the churchman (Figure 56). The doctor is in long red robes and a red fur-trimmed beret, the man next to him in plainer costume, holding forceps, is most likely a surgeon.

Similar garments can be seen in contemporary images of other doctors. For example in the early fourteenth-century fresco of the *Triumph of Death* at the Campo Santo at Pisa, there is a doctor amongst the damned in a red cloak with a red beret, both trimmed in fur.³⁵⁷ He wears gloves and holds a uroscopy flask in his hand (Figure 57). In the fresco of the *Death/Funeral of St. Francis* by Giotto

³⁵⁷ Painted by Francesco Traini, 1325-50.

in the Bardi Chapel at Santa Croce the doctor attending Francis again wears a red fur-trimmed beret and a red cloak with a large fur shoulder piece (Figure 58).³⁵⁸

Indeed by the fourteenth century the costume adopted by doctors, the long robes, hoods and berets in colours such as red, pink, blue and black, and often trimmed with fur, was not exclusive to the medical profession. In fact it reflected the clothing worn by a broader group, that of other western European university-educated professionals. This group now included medical doctors, as well as theologians, scholars of the liberal arts and lawyers.³⁵⁹ Examples of the costume can be seen in a late fourteenth-century manuscript illustration of Justinian I imposing his reformed law surrounded by lawyers (Figure 59).³⁶⁰ Andrea von Hülsen-Esch describes the long over-robe in particular as “internationally binding” explaining that it corresponded to contemporary priestly clothing. In fact although many aristocrats had abandoned long robes from the mid-fourteenth century, scholars retained them not for practicality but in order to indicate the status achieved through the possession of an academic degree.³⁶¹ The tradition of

³⁵⁸ 1315-1320. Julian Gardner, “The Early Decoration of Santa Croce in Florence” *Burlington Magazine* 113 (1971) 391-392.

³⁵⁹ Combining the evidence of university statutes and the images found in manuscripts, Andrea von Hülsen-Esch shows how there were certain elements of clothing that were common in both France and Italy between the fourteenth and sixteenth centuries. She looks mostly at Bologna, Padua, Montpellier, Paris and Vienna. Andrea von Hülsen-Esch, “Kleider machen Leute: Zur Gruppenrepräsentation von Gelehrten im Spätmittelalter” Otto Gerhard Oexle and Andrea von Hülsen-Esch, eds, *Die Repräsentation der Gruppen Texte – Bilder – Objekte* (Göttingen, 1998) 225-257.

³⁶⁰ From *Iustiniani imperatoris institutions*. Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Urb. Lat. 164, fol. 1 r. Andrea von Hülsen-Esch describes the illustration as being from the Bolognese school in “Kleider machen Leute” 229.

³⁶¹ Hülsen-Esch, “Kleider machen Leute” 238-239.

priestly clothing dates back to the early days of *studia generalia* that had their beginnings in chapter schools.³⁶²

The need to distinguish practitioners with official qualifications reflected the professionalisation of the practice of medicine. Correspondingly there was a decline in the practice of monastic medicine. There was a reaction against monks practicing medicine from within the religious community. Bernard of Clairvaux spoke out against monks being motivated by worldly gain in the practice of medicine and at the second Lateran council in 1139 monks were forbidden from practicing medicine for temporal gain. Further restrictions were imposed at Lateran IV in 1215 when priests, deacons and sub-deacons were forbidden from taking any action involving cutting or shedding blood. Correspondingly graduates became less interested in a monastic way of life as prospects improved in the lay practice of medicine.³⁶³

The education available to doctors had become increasingly formal and within universities independent faculties of medicine were being established. The most important medical school in Italy was at the university of Bologna, which was legally established in the early fourteenth century. Although the school of medicine existed at Bologna in 1260 and the first degrees were given out in 1268, the faculty was not legally recognized until 1316 when it separated from the faculty of the Liberal Arts. Although formal medical teaching had also been taking place at *Studia Generalia* from the thirteenth century it was until the mid

³⁶² W.N. Hargreaves-Mawdsley, *A History of Academical Dress in Europe until the end of the Eighteenth Century*, (Oxford, 1963) 4-5.

³⁶³ Dawtry, "The Modus Medendi," 35-38. French, *Medicine Before Science*, 65-68.

fourteenth century that the Universities of Bologna, Paris and Montpellier held a virtual monopoly over the teaching and curriculum. New centres of learning emerged from these established universities, for example from Bologna Dino del Garbo went to Siena to establish a school in 1306-8, but had to wait until 1357 for an imperial decree. The medical school at Perugia was similarly established in 1321.³⁶⁴

University-educated doctors were not representative of the majority of medical practitioners in society and thus were keen to reinforce their position at the highest level of the developing hierarchy amongst the medical profession. This distinguished them from the skilled practitioners, skilled surgeons, barber surgeons and finally the large number of empirically trained practitioners. In Florence in the statutes of the Guild of medicine in 1314 and 1349, a guild exam was required in order to practice medicine or surgery but the exam was not restricted to formally educated doctors or university-educated doctors and practitioners of varying skills and backgrounds matriculated.³⁶⁵

In fact the majority of practitioners at the time were empirically trained, with knowledge inherited through family or gained through practical apprenticeships and doctors of all backgrounds competed with each other for patients.³⁶⁶ In Florence the Guild statutes reveal that university-educated doctors

³⁶⁴French, *Medicine Before Science*, 77-94. Hargreaves-Mawdsley, *A History of Academical Dress in Europe*, 13.

³⁶⁵Nancy Siraisi, *Medieval & Early Renaissance Medicine. An Introduction to Knowledge and Practice* (Chicago, 1990) 20.

³⁶⁶Raffaele Ciasca, *L'arte dei medici e speciali nella storia e nel commercio fiorentino dal secolo XII al XV* (Florence, 1927) 267, 285-288. Siraisi, *Medieval & Early Renaissance Medicine*, 19, 31-34. In many places non-university practitioners were often licensed by guilds and civic

had formed a separate group within the Corporation in 1392 in order to distinguish those with a degree from other practitioners.³⁶⁷ The guild struggled with the university to control licensing and by 1415 it seems the guild had won out although again enforcement was not comprehensive.³⁶⁸ More generally in medicine, exams were still often given by professionals in the field and licensing could be achieved through apprenticeship not just education. The university at Bologna tried to oversee all those who practiced medicine or surgery in Bologna as well as those who traded in drugs. In 1378, 1395 and 1410 the statutes forbade anyone from practicing without a license, which was only obtainable after having studied under a Master for three years.³⁶⁹

The long robe itself was specified in many university statutes and some elements of the clothing such as the beret and the permission to use vair (a type of squirrel fur), along with elements like gloves and rings were part of the doctoral insignia granted to an individual after they passed their university exam. Independent practice generally followed matriculation in the guild. In order to graduate from a university as a medical doctor there was a private or university exam after which there was a public ‘exam’ or ceremony in which the bishop or

authorities, sometimes specialists got licences based on success. French, *Medicine Before Science*, 119-120.

³⁶⁷ This was part of a series of measures amending Guild statutes between 1352 and 1392 in response to the increasing numbers of unlicensed practitioners who had appeared after the plague of 1348. Katharine Park, *Doctors and Medicine in Early Renaissance Florence* (Princeton, 1985) 23, 37-40. The differentiation of types of doctors was evident from much earlier with doctors and surgeons being clearly differentiated from one another in Guild statutes by the end of the thirteenth century. Ciasca, *L’arte dei medici e speciali*, 269.

³⁶⁸ Park, *Doctors and Medicine in Early Renaissance Florence*, 40-41. See also Jonathan Davies, *Florence and its University during the Early Renaissance* (Leiden, 1998).

³⁶⁹ Pearl Kibre, *Scholarly privileges in the Middle Ages: the rights, privileges and immunities of scholars and universities at Bologna, Padua, Paris, and Oxford* (London, 1961) 50-51.

his proxy would give the candidate his doctoral insignia often a beret or ring. Some surgeons could also qualify for doctoral insignia when they completed a university course that was offered in several centres such as Bologna, Padua and Florence. At Bologna surgeons could have most of the insignia except the vair, which was limited to physicians.³⁷⁰ In Padua surgeons were even granted the use of vair.³⁷¹

In the statutes for the medical school at the university of Bologna from 1378 and 1395 it was specified that a fur trimmed hood or a beret was to be worn by doctors at exams or funerals of other doctors as befitting their status.³⁷² It was further specified that doctors of the university were to wear their vair-trimmed headgear into town.³⁷³ A similar requirement was found at the University of Paris in 1366 where it is specified that the academic clothing be worn by scholars when

³⁷⁰ Park, *Doctors and Medicine in Early Renaissance Florence*, 61-66.

³⁷¹ Gasparo Zonta and Giovanni Brotto, *Acta graduum academicorum Gymnasii Patavini* 2 (Padua, 1970) 239.

³⁷² "Et quod nullus ex doctoribus dicti collegij debeat ire ad examen alicuius scholaris publicum vel privatum, seu ad puncta alicuius scholaris civis vel forensis, vel ad exequias alicuius doctoris nostrj collegij, absque caputeo foderato vario vel bireto, nisi tempus fuerit pluvie vel caloris aut aliud inducat..." in "Quod teneantur observare doctores de collegio doctorum medicine tam in eorum habitu quam in eorum incessu. *Rubrica V. Statuti del collegio di medicina e di arti*. Statuti del 1378." Carlo Malagola, *Statuti delle Università e dei Collegi dello Studio Bolognese* (Bologna, 1888 reprint, 1988) 432. 1395 is very similar: "Et quod nullus ex doctoribus dicti collegij debeat ire ad examen alicuius scholaris, publicum vel privatum, seu ad punta alicuius scholaris civis vel forensis, vel ad exequias alicuius doctoris nostrj collegij, absque caputeo (hood) foderato vario, vel bireto, nisi tempus fuerit pluvie vel caloris aut aliud inducat..." *Statuti del collegio di medicina e di arti. Statuti del 1395*. Malagola, *Statuti delle Università e dei Collegi dello Studio Bolognese*, 460.

³⁷³ "statutuimus et ordinamus quod nullus medicus de cetero cuiuscumque status et conditionis existat, audeat vel presumat portare seu deferre varium in capite in civitate bon., nisi sit doctor, sub pena decem librarum bon..." *Statuti del collegio di medicina e di arti. Statuti del 1378*. Malagola, *Statuti delle Università e dei Collegi dello Studio Bolognese*, 446. Reinforced in 1395, Malagola, *Statuti delle Università e dei Collegi dello Studio Bolognese*, 473.

they were outside of the scholarly setting.³⁷⁴ Such measures, relating to the wearing of the costume outside the university environment, emphasized its purpose as an important indicator of status within the wider community.

At this time universities were frequently competing with civic authorities to control the licensing of medical doctors and further information on the costume apparent in the images of SS. Cosmas and Damian can be found in contemporary civic regulations informing clothing. The status accorded the licensed medical profession by civic authorities is evident in the sumptuary laws regulating secular clothing that were being enacted with increasing frequency throughout Europe from the early fourteenth century.³⁷⁵

In the fourteenth and fifteenth century in Italy medical doctors were frequently exempted from many of the regulations that governed clothing. Particularly in republican regimes, doctors were the group singled out for exemption, second only to knights and followed closely by doctors of civil and canon law as well as judges.³⁷⁶ In centres with more distinct multi-tiered class structures, such as those run by royal or seigniorial systems, doctors were often included in groups just below the ruling aristocracy.³⁷⁷ Doctors and lawyers were

³⁷⁴ “In habitu suo statui, gradui...condecanti...maxime eundo ad scholas, ecclesias et sermones.” *Chartularium universitatis Parisiensis* Bd.3, Nr.1319 S.143 in Hülsen-Esch, “Kleider machen Leute,” 238-239.

³⁷⁵ Killerby explains the rise in regulation was related to the rise in consumption due to increasingly large group of consumers that were not present before the thirteenth century. It was also a time of increasing social mobility in which clothing and ornaments acted as visual symbols of wealth and status. Catherine Kovesi Killerby, *Sumptuary Law in Italy 1200-1500* (Oxford, 2002) 23, 41, 80.

³⁷⁶ 300 laws were examined. Killerby, *Sumptuary Law in Italy 1200-1500*, 85, Table 4.2.

³⁷⁷ Places like Sicily and Puglia, Milan, Faenza, Piedmont, Bologna had class structures more like Spain, France or England at the time. Killerby, *Sumptuary Law in Italy 1200-1500*, 86.

the only professions consistently selected for exemption and according to Catherine Kovesi Killerby reflect the recognition given to those who studied for many years in order to acquire skills that would benefit the city or regime.³⁷⁸ After 1348 in Florence there was a shortage of doctors and the right to wear some of these rich garments as well as citizenship were offered as incentives to immigrant doctors.³⁷⁹

In civic statutes in Florence the exemptions are clear. For example in the early *Statute del Capitano* of 1321 it is written that no one had the right to wear belts with silver thread except knights, judges and physicians. Further on in the same statute men are prohibited from wearing precious stones and pearls except in decoration of their weapons, again the restriction did not apply to knights, judges and physicians.³⁸⁰ Similarly these groups of citizens were also exempt from restrictions applied to funeral ceremonies with respect to garments worn by the corpse and coffin decorations.³⁸¹ In 1415 in the *Statuti del Popolo e Comune*

³⁷⁸ Killerby, *Sumptuary Law in Italy 1200-1500*, 89.

³⁷⁹ Ciasca, *L'arte dei medici e speciali*, 289-292.

³⁸⁰ "Item quod nullus masculus vel femina portet aliquam cinturam de filis de argento, exceptis militibus, iudicibus, et medicis phisicis, sub pena..." and later "...Item quod nullus ferat at suam vestam vel vestes aliquod pavementum, perlas aut lapidem pretiosum exceptis quam ad ornamentum armorum, et exceptis militibus, iudicibus et medicis varium ferentibus, sub pena." Andrea Corsini, *Il costume del medico nelle pitture fiorentine del Rinascimento* (Florence, 1912) 3. This is the first comprehensive package of sumptuary measures in Florence, the *Statuto del Capitano del Popolo degli anni 1322-25*. Ronald Eugene Rainey, *Sumptuary Legislation in Renaissance Florence* (PhD Columbia University, 1985) 50-53.

³⁸¹ In the *Pragmatica* of 1356, funeral palls were to be very simple unless the corpse was that of a knight, judge, physician or surgeon. Item 30: describes *panno lano*, "Exceptis a predictis militibus de corredo, iudicibus juristis et medicis fisicis et conventatis in ciorosia pro quibus defunctis possit teneri bara honorabiliter fornita prout qualitas facti requiret..." ASF, *Capitoli del Comune di Firenze* 12 ff. 48r-54v. Rainey, *Sumptuary Legislation in Renaissance Florence*, 163, 685. Again in 1363 exemptions are apparent in funeral regulations, no silken cloth was allowed on coffins except knights, judges, doctor of civil or canon law or physician (medicus). ASF Provv. Reg. 50 f. 175v (21 June, 1963). Rainey, *Sumptuary Legislation in Renaissance Florence*, 194-195.

di Firenze, the corpses of knights, judges and doctors were permitted to be dressed in cloaks and caps lined with fur.³⁸² In 1467, when those in charge of the regulations about ornament and clothing were instructed on their task, they were told “knights, doctors and their wives are not to be included in these ordinances, as has always been the custom in our laws.”³⁸³

Despite the wealth of regulation to do with costume, not all details of the appearance of SS. Cosmas and Damian are covered by university or civic rules. For example, the colours of cloaks were not often specified in the sources, which are more specific when dealing with the clothing worn by undergraduates. Andrea von Hülsen-Esch uses the law faculty at Bologna to illustrate this point. In miniatures, Bolognese doctors of law wore red cloaks and several different head coverings usually in usually red, blue or pink. In contrast, the statutes dealing with clothing for jurists from 1317 to 1347 call for lawyers to wear a cloak of the black fabric referred to as *pannum de statuto*.³⁸⁴ Similarly in the Florentine university statutes from 1397 scholars are asked to wear black cloaks but again doctors are not specified.³⁸⁵ At Perugia in the sixteenth century doctors

³⁸² 1415, rubrica XV, “De quo indui posit corpus mortui...et si fuerit miles, iudex, vel medicus, posit tale caputeum seu capellinam portare foderatam de vario.” Corsini, *Il costume del medico*, 4.

³⁸³ Rainey, *Sumptuary Legislation in Renaissance Florence*, 460. The word is ‘doctori’ but it is in Italian this time. ASF Provv. Reg. 157 f. 243 rv 10 March 1466/67. Rainey, *Sumptuary Legislation in Renaissance Florence*, 503, n.75.

³⁸⁴ Hülsen-Esch, “Kleider machen Leute” 228-233. Hargreaves-Mawdsley writes that the 1317 statutes from Bologna explain that undergraduates and non-doctors were all to wear cloaks made of the black ‘statute-cloth’. In fact the statutes are always more explicit on the dress of non-doctors and undergraduates. Hargreaves-Mawdsley, *A History of Academical Dress in Europe*, 16-17.

³⁸⁵ “Volentes quod scholares nostre Universitatis in quacumque facultate uno colore panni se induant, honestoque vestimento utantur; statuimus, quod scholaris quicumque fuerit in studio isto pro tempore, cuiuscumque conditionis et status, etiam si esset dux, princeps vel baro seu comes aut marchio, vel alius quicumque nobilis, etiam si esset cardinalis vel episcopus, vel alia dignitate

were required to wear a cloak and hood of vair and a cloak and robe in pink “as was done in the Quattrocento.” This reiterates directions given for the visit of Pius II in the fifteenth century when doctors had to be in red with fur trim.³⁸⁶

There are details such as in the gold trim of the robes of the saints in a panel in the Florentine Duomo by Bicci di Lorenzo that were not included in the costume of a physician (Figure 69). Andrea von Hülsen-Esch explains that gold trim was forbidden to the learned in Florentine statutes, it was to be worn by the nobility only.³⁸⁷ In this case the border has a devotional as well as decorative purpose as it carries sacred text.³⁸⁸ One would also surmise that as saints Cosmas and Damian were not subject to the same legislation as doctors working in the city and thus there would be some freedom on the part of artist and patron to increase ornamentation. Further, on a practical level, it is unclear how closely sumptuary laws were followed. As was pointed out by Diane Owen Hughes the number of regulations and addenda to regulations must reflect the difficulties in enforcing such laws and the propensity of citizens to break them.³⁸⁹ Another and perhaps more obvious difference between the iconography and the appearance of doctors is that the saints do not wear gloves or rings. These were important

fungens, teneatur et debeat se induere et indutum ire continue in et per civitatem florentie, videlicet de una cappa vel gabano vel statuta, omnes de uno eodemque colore panni, in quo panno non sit nec esse possit accia vel tormentiana, sed totus de stame lane, nec plurium colorum variatus, sed niger....” Alessandro Gherardi, ed. *Statuta Universitatis et Studii Florentini MCCCCLXXXVII* (Florence 1881, reprint Bologna 1973) 97-98, Statute 97.

³⁸⁶ Giuseppe Ermini, *Storia dell'Università di Perugia I* (Florence, 1971) 302.

³⁸⁷ Hülsen-Esch, “Kleider machen Leute” 256.

³⁸⁸ Corsini also points out this could be the gold ornamentation Petrarch was making fun of when describing Florentine doctors. Corsini, *Il costume di medico*, 11.

³⁸⁹ Diane Owen Hughes, “Sumptuary Laws and Social Relations in Renaissance Italy,” John Bossy ed., *Disputes and Settlements: Law and Human Relations in the West* (Cambridge, 1983) 69-99.

symbols of status to doctors and they do occur in images of them such as the doctor in the *Triumph of Death* at the Campo Santo in Pisa (Figure 57).³⁹⁰

Part 2: Medical attributes.

In addition to the costume, the main iconographic element necessary to identify Cosmas and Damian is the presence of medical attributes. The saints were medical professionals and were not related in hagiography or miracles to an individual pathology. As such they appear with a variety of medical, surgical and pharmaceutical items. In the examples already described above, the saints are portrayed with a number of different items familiar to the contemporary physician. In the mid-fourteenth century fresco at Como, Cosmas holds a box for medications and Damian holds a uroscopy flask (Figure 50). The uroscopy flask was the most common symbol of a medical practitioner in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries and appears in many pictures of doctors, such as the Pisan fresco of the *Triumph of Death* (Figure 57). This was an artistic convention that reflected the reality of the practice of medicine in which urine analysis was an extremely important diagnostic tool.³⁹¹ Although not as popular in Italy as it was

³⁹⁰ The figure in the medallion representing medicine in Giotto's campanile at the Duomo of Florence has gloves on. Doctors from Pistoia and Florence wore gloves when they were out in public. Hülsen-Esch, "Kleider machen Leute" 247-248. Gloves do appear in images of SS. Cosmas and Damian in some examples in France. Pierre Julien, "Côme et Damien hier et aujourd'hui Quelques questions," Pierre Julien and François Ledermann, eds. *Saint Côme et saint Damien Culte et iconographie* (Colloque Mandrisio 29-30 IX, 1985 Zurich: 1985) 43-62.

³⁹¹ Siraisi, *Medieval & Early Renaissance Medicine* 125. Urine was almost more important than pulse, and many uroscopy diagrams were relied upon with as many as twenty different distinctions of colour. Peter Murray Jones, *Medieval Medical Miniatures* (London, 1984) 56-58. Peter Murray Jones mentions popularity of uroscopy flask in the portrayal of doctors generally, also instruments for bloodletting and apothecary jars. Jones, *Medieval Medical Miniatures*, 56-71.

in other European countries, such as Germany and France there are a number of surviving examples.³⁹²

Along with the fourteenth-century fresco from Como there were a several further northern Italian images from the fifteenth century holding almost identical attributes. On the island of *S. Giulio* in lake Orta, in the basilica of *S. Giulio d'Orta* votive images SS. Cosmas and Damian appear on half columns on the nave wall from the mid-fifteenth century (Figure 62 and Figure 63).³⁹³ Damian with a urine flask and Cosmas with a spatula and a box for medications divided into eight compartments.³⁹⁴ Further mid-fifteenth century frescoes in the church of *S. Giovanni Battista* in Salbertrand show Damian holding a uroscopy flask and Cosmas holding a medical box and spatula (Figure 64 and Figure 66).³⁹⁵ Similar iconography can also be found in the cathedral at Saluzzo and in *S. Giovanni Battista* al Cimitero in Volvera, although in these examples Cosmas holds the urine jar.³⁹⁶

³⁹² In Germany since the fourteenth century the urine flask appeared along with the palm branch and medicine box or jar, as well as the ointment spatula. Anneliese Wittmann, *Kosmas und Damian: Kultausbereitung und Volksdevotion* (Berlin, 1967) 121. In France the urine jar was popular, also jars and spatulas for unguents, mortar and pestle, case or bag, medicinal plants and books. Marie-Louise David-Danel, *Iconographie des Saints médecins Côme et Damien* (Lille, 1958) 191-201.

³⁹³ *S. Giulio* was reconstructed in the eleventh century Chierici and Citi, *Italia Romanica* 2, 273-276.

³⁹⁴ Giuseppe Ostino and Cristoforo Masino, "Attributi medici-farmaceutici nella iconografia piemontese dei Santi Cosma e Damiano" Julien and Ledermann, eds. *Saint Côme et saint Damien*, 71-78, 76.

³⁹⁵ Ostino and Masino, "Attributi medici-farmaceutici nella iconografia piemontese dei Santi Cosma e Damiano" 73, 76. Kaftal says by Giovanni Desiderio di Avigliana. George Kaftal, *Iconography of the Saints in the Painting of North West Italy*, (Florence, 1985) 212-213.

³⁹⁶ In Saluzzo Cathedral there is a fifteenth-century side altar with a triptych dedicated to SS. Cosmas and Damian in which Cosmas holds a urine jar and Damian holds a polygonal box and a spatula. In Volvera a fifteenth-century fresco again shows Cosmas with a urine jar and Damian with a box divided into compartments and a spatula. Ostino and Masino, "Attributi medici-farmaceutici nella iconografia piemontese dei Santi Cosma e Damiano" 72, 76. Kaftal believes

Further south in Aquila an image from the late fifteenth century also includes a urine flask. The remains of the fresco from the destroyed church of *S. Maria di Cascina dell'Aquila* reveal Saints Cosmas and Damian and Saint Catherine of Alexandria (Figure 66).³⁹⁷ Cosmas wears a small black beret and long robes, in his left hand is a jar for urine. Damian wears a lined cloak over a long white robe. He holds a lancet and a medicine box.³⁹⁸ Attached to his belt is a medical pouch or calendar. Carrying a calendar attached by a tassel to the belt became a fashion in the fifteenth century. It was a diagnostic tool, often including the sphere of life and death, rules for bloodletting, tables for urine analysis and zodiacal information that helped with the timing of the treatment of an individual.³⁹⁹ The medical pouch is an uncommon attribute, but it does occur in at least one other example. A similar pouch hangs from the belt of S. Damian in a panel from a Bolognese polyptych by Giovanni da Modena that is dated to the first half of the fifteenth century (Figure 67).⁴⁰⁰

Damian to be holding pincers rather than a spatula. Kaftal, *Iconography of the Saints in the Painting of North West Italy* 212-213, fig. 286.

³⁹⁷ Identified incorrectly as Gervase and Protase. Mario Moretti, *Museo Nazionale d'Abruzzo nel castello cinquecentesco dell'Aquila* (l'Aquila, 1968) 90.

³⁹⁸ Kaftal has identified the lancet which seems reasonable. It could also be long pincers, but it does seem to have only one arm. Kaftal, *Iconography of the Saints in Central and South Italian Schools of Painting*, 323-325, figs. 352, 353

³⁹⁹ Jones, *Medieval Medical Miniatures* 67-69.

⁴⁰⁰ Gemäldegalerie Berlin 1141C and 1141D. *Gemäldegalerie Berlin. Complete Catalogue of the Paintings* (London, 1986) 1062, 1063. The panels, now in Berlin, are thought to be from the time Giovanni da Modena was active in Bologna 1409-1452. More specifically they are stylistically related to the period after his work at the Capella Bolognini at San Petronio, 1425-1435. Miklós Boskovits, *Frühe italienische Malerei, Gemäldegalerie Berlin*, trans. Erich Schleier (Berlin, 1987) 64-66. Carlo Volpe thinks the Berlin panels are consistent with Giovanni da Modena's work at San Petronio in Bologna in the Capella Bolognini, 1393-1419. Carlo Volpe, "La Pittura Gotica: Da Lippo di Dalmasio a Giovanni da Modena," *La Basilica di San Petronio in Bologna I* (Milan, 1984) 242.

A pouch also hangs from the belt of one of the saints in the unusual polyptych of the *Intercession* painted by Gentile da Fabriano around 1423. In this imaginary scene where Cosmas and Damian appear to be in conversation with a saint identified as Julian the Hospitaller, one of the brothers glances down at his hand that is in a purse that hangs from his belt (Figure 71). These three medical saints are balanced on the other side of the central *Intercession* with a narrative scene depicting the Raising of Lazarus and two individual saints appear on the outside, Bernard and Louis of Toulouse. The painting was found in the church of San Niccolo Oltrarno in the nineteenth century but may not have been painted for that context.⁴⁰¹ It has been hypothesized that it was intended for a chapel dedicated to Cosmas and Damian that was part of the Observant Franciscan foundation of San Salvatore al Monte that comprised a hospice.⁴⁰² It is likely that the saint with the purse is Damian, referring to the gift of money (or eggs in some sources) that he accepted from Palladia in one of the saints' healing miracles. This momentary lapse, which is resolved in the narrative with the miracle of the talking camel, reinforces their position as anargyroi.

In both the Volterranean frescoes from the *Palazzo dei Priori* and the Florentine panel by the Master of the Rinuccini Chapel Cosmas and Damian are

⁴⁰¹ It may also be related to the Quaratesi family as well, perhaps to commemorate the death of Bernardo di Castello Quaratesi who died in 1423, his connection to Loius of Toulouse and the medical saints is unknown. Robinson, *Cosimo de' Medici's Patronage of the Observantist Movement*, 150.

⁴⁰² San Salvatore al Monte, Observant Franciscan foundation, based on a donation by Luca di Jacopo of the della Tosa family in 1417, enlarged 1431-1435. Original donation involved land and a family chapel that tradition says was dedicated to the saints. Cecilia Frosinini, "L'Intercessione. Il 'nuovo' polittico di Gentile da Fabriano ritrovato" in Marco Ciatti and Cecilia Frosinini, ed. *Il Gentile Risorto. Il Polittico dell'Intercessione di Gentile da Fabriano. Studi e Restauro*. (Florence, 2006) 17-33.

presented holding books (Figure 53 and Figure 54). Although books can also be assumed to refer to scripture and religious learning in images of saints in the instance of SS. Cosmas and Damian there is a case to be made for a reference to medical science. Medical books were amongst the gifts given to doctors when they successfully qualified and most likely indicate the academic learning required to achieve a degree.⁴⁰³ The reference to the professional use of books is made more explicit in a Florentine print from 1567. The illustration is found on the frontispiece of a *Ricettario*, for the use of doctors and pharmacists, and one of either Cosmas or Damian holds an open book that has been identified as a herbiary by Marie-Louise David-Danel (Figure 68).⁴⁰⁴

Cosmas holds a small box that is divided into three compartments and long pincers in the fourteenth-century altarpiece in Rimini (Figure 51). This is an early example of the compartmentalized box for medications combined with pincers that was to become the most frequently seen attribute in central Italian paintings of Cosmas and Damian in the fifteenth century. Medical boxes of various shapes and sizes must have been very familiar to the contemporary physician. Physicians did not usually deal with any external injuries or perform

⁴⁰³ Pierre Julien, "Iconographie et attributs médico-pharmaceutiques des saints Côme et Damien en Piémont" *La Pharmacie française* 3 (1966) 13-20. The gift of a book indicated the learning of doctors, it acted as a similar sign of status as rings and berets. French, *Medicine Before Science*, 116-117.

⁴⁰⁴ Arte dei medici e speziali, Firenze, *Il ricettario medicinale necessario a tutti i medici, & speziali. Nel quale con bellissimo ordine si insegna tutto quello che si puo desiderare intorno alla cognizione del prouedere, eleggere, conseruare, preparare, et comporre qual si voglia fonte di medicamento; secondo l'uso de' migliori e piu eccellenti medici. Di nuouo per ordine dell'ill.mo & ecc.mo s.re Duca, et del s.or Principe di Fiorenza, et di Siena. Ricorretto, et ampliato da' dodici riformatori periti di tale arte, et eletti da loro ecc. illust. ...* (Florence, 1567). Università di Firenze, Fondo Bardi. Marie-Louise David-Danel, "Saint Côme et saint Damien patrons des pharmaciens" in Julien and Ledermann, eds. *Saint Côme et saint Damien*, 23-28.

surgical procedures. They mainly prescribed medicine usually to be taken internally and the sale of medical compounds was an essential component of the physician's income. Further, individual doctors often had professional associations with specific pharmacists and patients visited doctors in apothecaries' shops as well as having the doctor come to their home.⁴⁰⁵ Indeed there were different medicinal compounds to suit different budgets. There were exotic drugs including such things as gold or precious stones for the rich and regular, more conventional herbs for the poor.⁴⁰⁶

The medications were sometimes in the form of pastilles or lozenges, and the pincers would then be used to get the pills out of the box. In the Piedmontese examples described above the saints hold a spatula along with the box of medications. The medical boxes held ointments and powders as well as pills and a spatula would be appropriate to this type of substance rather than the pincers. Giuseppe Ostino and Cristoforo Masino, who write on the medical iconography of the region, believe the spatula is included with the box erroneously and should appear with the pharmaceutical vase that would hold unguents. There is an image in the region in which the spatula has later been changed to pincers. It is a fifteenth century fresco in an abandoned church in Castelnuovo Scrivia in the area of S. Damiano includes SS. Cosmas and Damian, who hold round medical boxes with a lid and a spatula that in a later retouching was transformed into

⁴⁰⁵ Park, *Doctors and Medicine in Early Renaissance Florence*, 29, 51-52. Siraisi, *Medieval & Early Renaissance Medicine*, 137, 141-142, 146.

⁴⁰⁶ Siraisi, *Medieval & Early Renaissance Medicine*, 147.

pincers.⁴⁰⁷ In fact the spatula is not so incongruous, in many central and eastern European examples spatulas accompany the boxes.⁴⁰⁸

In the richly detailed manuscript illumination by Girolamo da Cremona executed for a Paduan Antiphonary the *Office of SS. Cosmas and Damian* opens with an illustration of *The Miracle of the Black Leg* (Figure 89).⁴⁰⁹ The medical boxes and pincers are clearly visible on the side of the bed of the churchman with the diseased leg. One of the boxes is ajar and a white compound is visible inside. The two saints, having just performed the surgery are presented wiping their bloodied knives with towels. They appear with knives in panels depicting the same miracle in predella panels by Sano di Pietro but without the level of detail provided by Girolamo da Cremona (Figure 76).

Part 3: Florence

In the particular case of Florence and its dependant territories there was less variation in iconographic detail than throughout the rest of Italy. Indeed by the late 1420s the appearance of Cosmas and Damian, with respect to costume and attributes, had become remarkably consistent and would remain so for most of the fifteenth century. Much of the iconography was established by the time of the

⁴⁰⁷ Ostino and Masino, "Attributi medici-farmaceutici nella iconografia piemontese dei Santi Cosma e Damiano" 72, 78.

⁴⁰⁸ Skrobucha, looks at examples from Macedonia, Rumania, Yugoslavia, Russia. Other popular attributes include scrolls, rolled sets of medical tools, medical cases or more rarely urine bottles. Skrobucha, *The Patrons of the Doctors*. The spatula also appears in an English manuscript illumination. In the 15th C Guild Book of the Barber Surgeons in York (Egerton MS 2572, f.51). Cosmas holds a urine glass and Damian holds a spatula to mix medicines from a compartmentalized box. Jones, *Medieval Medical Miniatures*, 56-71.

⁴⁰⁹ Brooke Antiphonal, dated 1460-70. Society of Antiquaries of London MS 450. Alexander, ed. *The Painted Page: Italian Renaissance Book Illumination*, 232.

ca.1370 panel attributed to the Master of the Rinuccini Chapel and in the polyptych by Gentile da Fabriano from 1423. The main differences can be seen in a panel very similar to the by the Master of the Rinuccini Chapel from a half-century later that displays the settled iconography (Figure 69). The work was commissioned from Bicci di Lorenzo in 1429 for the Florentine Duomo by Antonio Ghezzo della Casa, whose arms appear under the pilasters on either side of the predella. Antonio also paid for a chapel to be dedicated to the saints in the same church.⁴¹⁰ It is not clear exactly where Antonio's reverence for Cosmas and Damian originated it was most likely due to a healing or personal intervention of some sort, but he was clearly devoted to the doctors, commissioning both a chapel and an altarpiece in the Duomo.⁴¹¹

⁴¹⁰ A document referring to this commission survives: "Item operarii audita quadam postulatione facta per Antonium Ghezi della Casa per quam dixit ipsum Antonium perpetuis temporibus ob reverentia Dei et sanctorum Cosimi et Damiani deputasse in maiori ecclesia unum cappellanum ad officium in dicta ecclesia et quod ob reverentiam dictorum sanctorum vellet apponi facere in quodam pilastro dicte ecclesie unam tabulam pitture sanctorum prefatorum in uno ex pilastris dicte ecclesie esistenti versus pergamum predicationis et a perghamo inferius versus portam platee s Johannis, idcirco volentes eidem de dicta tabula complacere deliberaverunt quod dictus Antonius possit dictam tabulam in dictis locis videlicet in uno ipsorum per eum eligendo apponi facere suis expensis cum hoc quod nullum ius cappelle nec aliquod aliud ius acquiratur et cum hoc quod prefati operarii ad eorum beneplacitum ipsam de dicto loco removeri facere possint sine consensu dicti Antonii." *Deliberazioni Opera del Duomo 1425-1436* c128t quoted in Giovanni Poggi, *Il Duomo di Firenze. Documenti sulla deorazione della chiesa e del campanile tratti dall'archivio dell'Opera II*, Margaret Haines, ed. (Florence, 1988) 138-139 (doc. 2113). In 1439 there were relics of the martyrs in the church, 'reliquie ss. martirum Cosme et Damiani,' Poggi, *Il Duomo di Firenze, II*, 83. The painting was in the Uffizi from 1842, but this century is back in the Duomo. Cesare Rigoni, *Catalogo della R. Galleria degli Uffizi in Firenze*, (Florence, 1891) 90. See also Osvald Sirén, "Di Alcuni pittori fiorentini che subirono l'influenza di Lorenzo Monaco," *L'Arte* 7 (1904) 337-355.

⁴¹¹ Although the Medici family were by this time already using the iconography of Cosmas and Damian in their commissions, Antonio Ghezzo della Casa does not seem to have been a Medici partisan. Antonio Ghezzo della Casa was closely associated with anti-Medici families. Although Antonio di Ghezzo was quite prominent in the conservative or anti-Medicean faction from 1426, being amongst those taking control of government in 1433, he was not expelled in 1434 and it is possible he switched allegiances. Dale Kent, *The Rise of the Medici Faction in Florence 1426-1434*, (Oxford, 1978) 156, 319, 341-342. Robinson believes the interest could be linked to a pun on the name Ghezzo because in the fourteenth-century *Vita* of Cosmas and Damian in Florence,

In the main panel the doctor saints stand full-length under God the Father who appears in a quatrefoil. Cosmas and Damian, whose names are written in their haloes, are both wearing long red berets trimmed in vair, and long magenta cloaks over blue tunics. The tunics and cloaks have gold trim on the edges.⁴¹² They each hold a medical box and gilded pincers. Small black and white pills can be seen in the box held by Cosmas.⁴¹³ The predella includes the same two scenes as the fourteenth-century panel, the *Beheading of Cosmas and Damian* and the *Miracle of the Black Leg*. In this work both images are markedly less cluttered including only the characters essential to the narrative and leaving out the large group of soldiers and the onlookers and doctors present in the earlier version.

In a triptych from the same workshop, that is perhaps slightly earlier, there is a minor variation in attributes (Figure 70).⁴¹⁴ The triptych, although now in S. Ambrogio in Florence, has uncertain origins. Richa does not mention the painting in 1755 but by 1900 it is recorded as being there on an altar second to the left from the door and the presence of SS. Maxima and Ansansus have led to

BNF Mag 38:3, the black man in the miracle of the black leg is referred to in this way, “dove era stato seppellito quello ghezzo”. Robinson, *Cosimo de’Medici’s Patronage of the Observantist Movement*, 145. Ghezzo does mean dark skinned or swarthy but this seems a bit of a stretch.

⁴¹² Corsini describes the gold border as including religious text. Corsini, *Il costume del medico*, 11.

⁴¹³ Corsini believes these are *trocisi* a specific variety of lozenge or pill that were particularly in vogue at the time and were, according to their composition, for either internal or external use. Corsini, *Il costume del medico*, 9-10.

⁴¹⁴ Dated to ca.1430, but it looks earlier than the panel of 1429 or perhaps by a different hand. It has also been suggested that it is by Lorenzo di Bicci and it is from the time when Bicci was in the process of taking over the workshop. Lorenzo did not die until 1427 but documents under his name drop off some time earlier and Bicci seems to have been in charge by 1415. Cecilia Frosinini, “Il Passaggio di gestione in una bottega pittorica fiorentina del primo rinascimento: Lorenzo di Bicci e Bicci di Lorenzo,” *Antichità Viva* 25/1 (1986) 5-15. Berenson and Fremantle list it as Bicci di Lorenzo. Berenson, *Florentine School*, 28 and Richard Fremantle, *Florentine Gothic painters: from Giotto to Masaccio; a guide to painting in and near Florence 1300-1450*, (London, 1975) 480.

speculation that there may be a Sienese connection.⁴¹⁵ SS. Cosmas and Damian are in the central panel on either side of the Virgin and Child, Cosmas, on the left, holds a medical box and pincers and Damian holds a book, medical box and a palm.⁴¹⁶

The costume, a pink or red cloak and red beret, often over blue robes as well as the attribute of the medical box and pincers or palm appear in most Florentine paintings of SS. Cosmas and Damian through the following decades. In Florentine images they never appear with uroscopy flasks.⁴¹⁷ The consistency of the representations is less likely to be due to a particular habit of the Florentine medical community and more likely to be a result of the use of the iconography of SS. Cosmas and Damian by the Medici family. The elements are all in place in one of the earliest major Medici works including Cosmas and Damian, the Annalena Altarpiece of the mid 1430s (Figure 91). Here the iconography chosen

⁴¹⁵ Giuseppe Richa, *Notizie istoriche delle Chiese fiorentine, divise nei suoi quartieri II* (Florence, 1755) 236-250. Omero Orzalesi, *Della Chiesa di S. Ambrogio in Firenze e dei suoi Restauri* (Florence, 1900) 10. It moved to the wall of the presbytery by 1940. Walter und Elisabeth Paatz, *Die Kirchen von Florenz: ein kunstgeschichtliches Handbuch I* (Frankfurt am Main, 1940) 28.

Eve Borsook points out that the two most important cults there were dedicated to Corpus Christi and the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin. Eve Borsook, "Cults and Imagery at Sant'Ambrogio in Florence," *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz* 25 (1981) 147-202. Further, it is not in Marcucci as having come from any of the main Florentine galleries. Luisa Marcucci, *Gallerie Nazionali di Firenze. I Dipinti Toscani del Secolo XIV* (Rome, 1965).

⁴¹⁶ Robinson says the outer pairs of saints are named beneath (I could not make them out). On the left are SS. Maxima and Sanus and on the right SS. Ambrosius and Marcellina. In the central panel the names are in the haloes. Robinson, *Cosimo de' Medici's Patronage of the Observantist Movement*, 144. Richard Fremantle identifies them as a female Saint, St. Ansanus, St. Clement and St. Ursula. Fremantle, *Florentine Gothic painters*, 480. Robinson thinks the patron could be a member of the Medici family because Cosmas and Damian have the word "Medicus" tooled in their haloes along with their names. No other proof has been found. Robinson, *Cosimo de' Medici's Patronage of the Observantist Movement*, 144. The patron could also have a connection to Siena as Maxima and Sanus are patrons of that city. Franca Ela Consolino, ed. *I santi patroni senesi* (Siena, 1991).

⁴¹⁷ When discussing Florence in particular Marie-Louise David-Danel describes the medical box as a nobler instrument of the profession than the urine jars for example. David-Danel, *Iconographie des saints médecins Côme et Damien*, 194

by Fra Angelico and his patron is very similar to the 1429 panel by Bicci di Lorenzo. The saints wear long pink cloaks over blue robes and have red berets. Each holds a palm and one holds a medical box. Future Medici commissions employed this iconography again and again. The presence of a significant number of paintings of the saints by important artists for such a powerful family established a dominant and influential iconographic model.

Part 4: Doctors as Patrons

Of the sixty images considered here, in over half of them the reason for the saints' appearance can be determined. Thirteen of these will be examined as Medici pictures in the following chapter. The largest group of paintings, aside from the Medici pictures, are votive images comprising nine or possibly ten of the examples considered. The continued popularity of the saints as miracle healers is evidenced by the survival of these images. As the surviving votive frescoes testify their position as generalists allowed them to fulfil many different requests and prevented any kind of limited categorization that may have occurred had they been tied to a specific pathology. It also eliminated the need for a specific attribute to identify the saints.

One of the most interesting examples is the twelfth or thirteenth-century *Pieve* of SS. Cosma e Damiano at Canoscio near Città di Castello.⁴¹⁸ The church,

⁴¹⁸ The church is dated to the thirteenth century. It is mentioned in the *Rationes Decimarum* in 1349 under Città di Castello, "De Plebatu de Camusio. Plebatus de Camusio SS. Cosme et Damiani." Pietro Sella, ed. *Umbria. Rationes Decimarum Italiae nei secoli XIII e XIV. Studi e Testi 161* (Vatican City, 1952) 275.

clearly a centre devoted to miraculous healing, is covered in votive frescoes, some of which can be dated by an inscription to 1348 and the time of the Black Death (Fig. 84 and Fig. 85). Many of the frescoes are water damaged, but SS. Cosmas and Damian can clearly be seen in image of the *Madonna della Misericordia* to the left of the Virgin. Saint Peter and the Archangel Michael balance the composition on the other side (Fig. 86).⁴¹⁹ SS. Cosmas and Damian are not specifically associated with the plague and in this case the existing dedication to SS. Cosmas and Damian seems to have attracted more devotion at a time of great medical need.⁴²⁰ The endurance of the healing location is underscored by the more famous Basilica of Canoscio dedicated to the Virgin further up the same hill, which remains an active cult site today.⁴²¹

Further examples of votive images include the painting by Bicci di Lorenzo which was commissioned by Antonio Ghezzo della Casa along with a chapel in 1429 seems most likely an ex voto, given in thanks for an intervention (Figure 69). In Pisa one of the only remaining examples of a votive fresco in the Duomo has as its subject SS. Cosmas and Damian. It appears on a pilaster behind the west facade of the church and probably survives because it is completely

⁴¹⁹ Painted by an unknown Umbrian artist. Todini, *La Pittura Umbra I*, 346.

⁴²⁰ Sameul Cohn explains that recorded plague miracles are quite rare in the Trecento but activity does increase, particularly in the region between Florence and Rome, in the early Quattrocento. Samuel K. Cohn, *The Black Death Transformed: Disease and Culture in Early Renaissance Europe*, (London, 2002) 72-80.

⁴²¹ Now marked by a nineteenth-century church, this site too is plague related having been established as a shrine by a man called Vanne di Jacopo, spared from the disease in 1348. In the fourteenth century it was enlarged to a chapel and in the nineteenth century the present church was built. The fourteenth-century *Madonna del Transito* remains. It became a basilica in 1998. Information from the website of the Comune di Città di Castello (www.cdnet.net).

covered by a wooden door (Figure 87).⁴²² It has been attributed to Francesco d'Antonio da Firenze (doc. 1393-1433) and dated to the first half of the fifteenth century.⁴²³ The standing saints are shown full length with one slightly behind the other. They are wearing long red berets trimmed with vair and short green robes to just below the knee with vair hems and cuffs. The front saint is holding a medical box and pincers.⁴²⁴

Several similar examples survive in Piedmont. There are the frescoes mentioned above in S. Giulio d'Orta where mid fifteenth-century images of SS. Cosmas and Damian are on half columns on the nave wall (Figure 62 and Figure 63). In S. Pietro in Volpedo two separate fifteenth-century frescoes of the two saints appear on both the first and fourth pilasters of the nave. This repetition of the same saints indicating two separate ex votos relating to different interventions on behalf of different suppliants.⁴²⁵ The saints are portrayed differently in the two images, again reflecting the desires of different patrons and the execution of different artists. On the first pilaster the saints are almost identical in appearance, distinguishable through inscriptions. They hold spatulas with round handles and oval boxes. On the fourth pilaster one of the saints is noticeably older than the

⁴²² On the left side of the pilaster is St. John the Baptist, facing the nave is a crucifixion and on the right side SS. Cosmas and Damian. The frescoes are not in the official documents of the Duomo. The only other remaining example of votive frescoes in the church is S. Girolamo by Piero di Puccio. These frescoes may have been originally connected to altars. Roberto Paolo Novello in Adriano Peroni, ed. *Il Duomo di Pisa* (Modena, 1995) 489-490.

⁴²³ Longhi attributed the Crucifixion on the other side of the pilaster to Francesco d'Antonio in 1940. Roberto Paolo Novello, *Il Duomo di Pisa*, 489-490.

⁴²⁴ I have chosen to trust Corsini with the colour, as no colour photos are available. Although his dating is atrocious his colours are very accurate. Corsini, *Il Costume del Medico*, 24-25.

⁴²⁵ Ostino and Masino describe the frescoes and point out that this type of repetition was quite common. Giuseppe Ostino and Cristoforo Masino, "Attributi medici-farmaceutici nella iconografia piemontese dei Santi Cosma e Damiano," 71-72.

other. Both saints hold spatulas but Cosmas holds a cylindrical box with a lid and Damian has an open box divided in four compartments.

An unusually specific example can be found in a detached fresco of the *Virgin and Child with SS. Cosmas and Damian* of 1448 from the church of S. Giovanni Nuovo in Cremona, Cosmas holds a medical box but Damian holds a medical box and a crutch presumably referring to the request fulfilled by the saints (Figure 88).⁴²⁶

Four of the images are related to existing cult locations. In Volterra the position of the saints as patrons explains their prominent inclusion in the fresco in the Palazzo dei Priori (Figure 53). Three of the images come from existing dedications to SS. Cosmas and Damian. The altarpiece from Rimini and apse frescoes in Como and at San Damiano in Assisi (Figure 50, Figure 51, Figure 82). At San Damiano in Assisi, originally a Benedictine foundation, Damian appears without his brother alongside the Virgin and Child with the Bishop S. Rufino.⁴²⁷ Damian, whose head is uncovered, is presented wearing a green robe under a red cloak. In his left hand he holds a cross and in his right a medical box.⁴²⁸ The green is an unusual colour but similar iconography is used in the stained glass in the St. Martin Chapel in the lower basilica of S. Francesco at Assisi. Here again

⁴²⁶ Dated through the inscription: *Hoc opus fecit fieri Marina uxor de Puvo MCCCCXLVIII die XV Nov.* Puerari gives it to Bonifacio Bembo. Cremona N.17. Alfredo Puerari, *La Pinactoecca di Cremona* (Cremona, 1951) 36. Kaftal, *Iconography of the Saints in the Painting of North West Italy*, 212-213.

⁴²⁷ Cottineau lists it as a Benedictine foundation in 1217 and belonging to the Poor Clares from 1224. Cottineau, *Répertoire Topo-bibliographique I*, 176.

⁴²⁸ The Virgin and Child are flanked by S. Damian and the Bishop, S. Rufino. Filippo Todini believes the fresco to date to the second half of the thirteenth century. Filippo Todini, *La Pittura Umbra I. Dal duecento al primo cinquecento*, (Milan, 1989) 342. It looks more likely to be early fourteenth century.

S. Damian appears without Cosmas, wearing a red robe under a green cloak and a green hood trimmed with vair and holding a medical box in his left hand and a palm in his right. The presence of Damian on his own can probably be related to the particular circumstance of having a significant local monastery dedicated to the single saint (Figure 83).⁴²⁹ The polyptych by Gentile da Fabriano can possibly be added to this group if it does indeed originate in a chapel dedicated to the saints.

Several further representations of the saints appear in images created for hospitals, in the context of other healing saints in a manner similar to the earlier tradition of the saints. Hospitals intended for the care of the ill were becoming more common at this time, rather than just hospices for the poor or xenodochia intended for pilgrims and travellers.⁴³⁰ Hospitals were also becoming increasingly medicalized through the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries and the hospital was often a place in which entry requirements protected professionally qualified medical practitioners.⁴³¹ Although Cosmas and Damian appear in the context of other healing saints in hospitals they are not noticeably prominent. For

⁴²⁹ Window 13, possibly before 1317. Simone Martini? Giuseppe Marchini, *Le Vetrate Dell'Umbria. Corpus Vitrearum Medii Aevi Italia I, L'Umbria* (Rome, 1973) 118-128.

⁴³⁰ Growth in such institutions can be related to an increase in bequests to charitable foundations performing good works. Park, *Doctors and Medicine in Early Renaissance Florence*, 101-103. Growth of fraternities and lay charitable associations happened within the context of the rise of the mendicant orders. Large charitable societies often distributed alms and ran hospices and hospitals. John Henderson, *Piety and Charity in Late Medieval Florence* (Oxford, 1994) 15-44.

⁴³¹ John Henderson, *The Renaissance Hospital: Healing the Body and Healing the Soul* (London, 2006) 28.

example of the sixty-eight hospitals founded in Florence between 1000 and 1550, not one bears a dedication to Cosmas and Damian.⁴³²

Four images are known here. The first is a fourteenth-century predella that includes S. Cosmas amongst other saints including S. Agnes, S. Catherine, S. Ursula and S. Blaise belonging to the *Ospedale della Scala* in Siena.⁴³³ The *Ospedale della Scala* owned a later painting by Domenico Beccafumi, a Virgin and Child with John the Evangelist, John the Baptist and SS. Cosmas and Damian (Figure 80).⁴³⁴ In a sixteenth-century inventory the Sacristy of the hospital is recorded as having a relic of S. Cosmas amongst others.⁴³⁵ In Arezzo, Spinello Aretino was commissioned c.1400, to paint an outdoor tabernacle including Cosmas and Damian by the *Compagnia della SS. Trinità* in Arezzo for a hospital they had built 1370-1380.⁴³⁶ SS. Cosmas and Damian also appear in a fifteenth century Pisan panel that was the property of the local hospital.⁴³⁷

⁴³² Henderson, *The Renaissance Hospital*, Appendix.

⁴³³ The Platt predella. Princeton 62.57. The predella has the arms of the *Ospedale della Scala* on it and Van Os believes the predella to be connected to an altarpiece produced by Bartolommeo Bulgarini following the plague. Henk Van Os, "Black Death and Sienese Painting: A Problem of Interpretation," *Studies in Early Tuscan Painting* (London, 1992) 58-74, 70, n.16. Berenson gives it to Naldo Ceccarelli. Bernard Berenson, *Italian Pictures of the Renaissance: Central Italian and North Italian Schools* (London, 1968) 85.

⁴³⁴ Siena 384, 152 x 228 cm, dated 1513. The panel was given to the Pinacoteca Nazionale by the hospital in 1818. Cesare Brandi, *La Regia Pinacoteca di Siena*, (Rome, 1933) 38-40.

⁴³⁵ Recorded as, 'Un 'osso di Sto. Cosmè.' In an inventory of 1575. Henk Van Os, "Vecchietta and the Sacristy of the Siena Hospital," *Studies in Early Tuscan Painting*, 83.

⁴³⁶ Cosmas and Damian were patrons of the Confraternity. The tabernacle included the Holy Trinity in the middle and SS. Piero, Cosma e Damiano, currently in the Museo Statale in Arezzo. As described by Vasari, detached now and fragmentary, the head of one of either Cosmas or Damian is visible. Frank Dabell, "New Documents for the History and Patronage of the Compagnia della SS. Trinità in Arezzo." *Arte Cristiana* 79 (1991) 412-417.

⁴³⁷ Described as a Virgin and Son Enthroned with Saints, including Cosmas and Damian. Noted as having been the property of the *RR. Ospedali of Pisa*. In 1912 Corsini saw it in the Museo Civico at Pisa, but now there is nothing like this on display at the Museo Nazionale di San Matteo and nothing in catalogues of the museum. Corsini, *Il Costume del Medico*, 24. This could be the same panel described by Berenson as a Virgin and Son enthroned with Cosmas and Damian, Stephen

The fifteenth century does mark the appearance of documented examples of doctors using the iconography of SS. Cosmas and Damian in artistic commissions. Cosmas and Damian were chosen as patrons to medical institutions and associations such as the Confraternity of the Barbers of Rome, founded 1431-1447.⁴³⁸ In the fourteenth century the surgeons' college at the University of Paris was dedicated to St. Cosmas alone.⁴³⁹ The saints were also patrons of the prestigious medical school at the University of Bologna which was dedicated to the Virgin and "...the holy confessors Petronius and Ambrose, Jerome and Augustine, Thomas of Aquinas and Cosmas and Damian, doctors and blessed of the Church militant..."⁴⁴⁰ There is an altarpiece from 1417, signed and dated by Luca da Perugia, in the church of San Petronio in Bologna that includes many of these saints (Figure 81).⁴⁴¹ The Madonna and Child appear with SS. Ambrose, Antony, Petronius, Bartholomew, Cosmas Gotthard, Damian and the donor Bartolomeo da Milano.⁴⁴² It has been suggested, by Marie-Louise David-Danel

and an unknown saint by Giovanni dal Ponte (1385-1437) Pisa 165. There are two predella panels associated with this one, *The Stoning of St. Stephen* and *The Beheading of SS. Cosmas and Damian* in Pittsfield, Mass. Mrs. Lawrence K. Miller. Berenson, *Florentine School*, 92.

⁴³⁸ Collegio dei Parruchierri di Roma, *I barbieri di Roma: Collegio dei Barbieri e Parrucchieri di Roma: cinque secoli e mezzo di attività. I, 1443-1870*, (Rome, 1985) 11-17

⁴³⁹ Siriasi, *Medieval & Early Renaissance Medicine*, 179.

⁴⁴⁰ "...Beatorum confessorum Petronij et Ambrosij, Jeronimj et Augustinj, Thome de Aquino et militantis Ecclesie doctorum ac Beatorum Cosme et Damiani.. *Statuti del collegio di medicina e di arti. Statuti del 1378*. Malagola, *Statuti delle Università e dei Collegi dello Studio Bolognese*, 425.

⁴⁴¹ Capella Santa Brigida, chapel 21. Volpe "La Pittura Gotica: Da Lippo di Dalmasio a Giovanni da Modena" in *La Basilica di San Petronio in Bologna I*, 280-284.

⁴⁴² An early example in Lombardy of the patron being included in an altarpiece. Volpe "La Pittura Gotica: Da Lippo di Dalmasio a Giovanni da Modena" in *La Basilica di San Petronio in Bologna I*, 280-4, illus. 265.

that the patron was attached to the university.⁴⁴³ A further image that was definitely in the possession of the university is a small early fifteenth-century Bolognese panel of SS. Cosmas and Damian (Figure 61).⁴⁴⁴

At least five images can be attributed to the patronage of individual doctors and amongst them are some of the most notable non-Medicean images of SS. Cosmas and Damian produced in the fifteenth century. In an early fifteenth-century Lucchese panel SS. Cosmas and Damian appear amongst numerous saints including the patrons name saints, local saints and early martyrs. Their presence is attributed to the patron's profession. The inscription reads, "This work was made/produced made by Maestro Antonio de Guarguagli of Lucca, Doctor."⁴⁴⁵

A Sienese altarpiece by Taddeo di Bartolo from 1409 is also thought to have been commissioned by a doctor (Figure 72).⁴⁴⁶ It has been suggested that

⁴⁴³ She describes it as by Luca da Perugia from 1447 in San Petronio in the Pepoli Chapel. David-Danel, *Iconographie des Saints médecins Côme et Damien*, 144.

⁴⁴⁴ 37 x 21 cm and dated 1400-1410 by an unknown Bolognese artist. Perhaps Pietro Lianori. The panel came to the museum from the eighteenth-century Istituto delle Scienze. Rosalba d'Amico in Carla Benardini ed., *La Pinacoteca Nazionale di Bologna, Catalogo Generale delle Opere Esposte* (Bologna, 1987), 41, n.62. Attributed to Pietro Lianova. Albano Sorbelli, *Storia della università di Bologna VI* (Bologna, 1944) 204, Tav.XX. E.7.

⁴⁴⁵ "HOPVS FECIT FIERI MAESTRO ANTONIO DE GVARGVAGLI DA LVCHA MEDICO." The panel has an Annunciation on the top register, the crucified Christ in the middle register flanked by SS. Agatha, Catharine of Alexandria, the Virgin, Mary Magdalene, John the Evangelist, Francis and Lawrence and in the bottom register Michael, Leonard, Cosmas and Damian, Christopher, James Major, Anthony Abbot, Julian, George. The doctor's name was Francesco d'Antonio. Montgomery Ala. Montgomery Museum of Fine Arts since 1937 (K1046, 70.8x44.5cm). Fern Rusk Shapley, *The Complete Catalogue of the Samuel H. Kress Collection: Italian Paintings XIII-XV Century*, (London, 1966) 93.

⁴⁴⁶ Pinacoteca Nazionale di Siena N.131, 254x202 cm. Inscription on cornice: "TADDEUS BARTHOLI DE SENIS PINXIT HOC OPUS ANNI DOMINI MILLE QUATTROCENTO NOVE." Pietro Torriti, *La Pinacoteca Nazionale di Siena*, (Genoa, 1980) 194-196. Berenson, *Central Italian and North Italian Schools*, 422.

due to the presence of SS. Cosmas and Damian that the donor was a physician.⁴⁴⁷ Here SS. Cosmas and Damian appear on either side of a central Annunciation. The donor, Mariano di Pavolo de Rosso, is mentioned in the inscription but he has yet to be identified.⁴⁴⁸ The possibility of the medical connection is further enhanced by the presence of SS. Cosmas and Damian in the predella. A panel with the Crucifixion of SS. Cosmas and Damian as its subject, as well as two Christological scenes, the Adoration of the Shepherds and Adoration of the Magi, have been associated with this altarpiece (Figure 73).⁴⁴⁹ Based on the size of the three panels, it is likely the predella included further scenes, possibly including SS. Cosmas and Damian, as the most popular and identifiable episode from their Life, *The Miracle of the Black Leg*, is missing.⁴⁵⁰

The most comprehensive painted Life of Cosmas and Damian from this time is part of another Sienese painting that was commissioned by a doctor. The work in question is a large altarpiece financed by the *Compagnia della Vergine*

⁴⁴⁷Henk Van Os believes Mariano may have been a doctor and cites another example of a physician's altar in Siena. It is in S. Agostino where Niccolo Finetti had an altar built to his name saint and to SS. Cosmas and Damian. Henk Van Os, *Sienese Altarpieces II 1344-1460*, (Groningen, 1990) 103-106.

⁴⁴⁸ The inscription, bottom centre, reads: "Questa tavola fece fare Mariano di Pavolo de Rosso." Torriti, *La Pinacoteca Nazionale di Siena*, 194-196. It came to the gallery from the collection of Abbot Ciaccheri. In catalogues of 1816 and 1872 it is listed without the cusps that were separate. Brandi, *La Regia Pinacoteca di Siena*, 297-298.

⁴⁴⁹ *Crucifixion*, Siena N.134, Brandi points out that the provenance of the crucifixion is unknown, but it came from the collection of Abbot Ciaccheri like the altarpiece. He says Douglas said all three might be predella of N.131 and he believes it to be included as well. Brandi, *La Regia Pinacoteca di Siena*, 295. There could have been more scenes of Cosmas and Damian in this predella, as it is not complete with the three scenes identified. Sibilla Symeonides, *Taddeo di Bartolo* (Siena, 1965). Pietro Torriti also accepts all three predella panels. Torriti, *La Pinacoteca Nazionale di Siena*, 194-196.

⁴⁵⁰ The main panel is approximately 200cm wide and the three panels are approximately 40 cm wide each.

by Sano di Pietro intended for the Oratory of the Gesuati in Siena (Figure 74).⁴⁵¹ Gaudenz Freuler has shown that the funding for this altarpiece was most likely the money donated in 1446 by a doctor called Francesco da Gubbio who was a member of the confraternity.⁴⁵² A series of surviving documents from 1446 and 1447 explain that the money was to be used by the Gesuati for the construction and decoration of a new chapel.⁴⁵³ The iconography is not specified, but the presence of SS. Cosmas and Damian and the emblem of the *Compagnia della Vergine* on the pilasters along with Gesuati saints Jerome and Giovanni Colombini make the identification of the altarpiece relatively certain.⁴⁵⁴

In the centre of the main panel is a Madonna, who sits with the Child on her lap surrounded by ten angels. S. Jerome and S. Giovanni Colombini kneel before them.⁴⁵⁵ SS. Cosmas and Damian stand on either side of the Virgin and Child, separated from the main group by little colonettes that sit on top of the panel. The predella is made up of six scenes from the life of Cosmas and Damian (Figure 75). The story begins with the trial and martyrdom of the saints with the

⁴⁵¹ Siena Pinacoteca 233, 216x247 cm. Torriti, *La Pinacoteca Nazionale di Siena*, 284-286. Cesare Brandi points out the original frame. 265 x 270 cm. Brandi, *La Regia Pinacoteca di Siena* 252. Sano made his career as the special painter of Sienese Orders, the Gesuati and Franciscan Observants. Van Os, *Sienese Altarpieces II 1344-1460*, 54-57.

⁴⁵² The *Compagnia della Vergine* not only supported Bernardino and Franciscans but also other orders like Dominicans and Gesuati. Gaudenz Freuler, "Sienese Quattrocento Painting in the Service of Spiritual Propaganda," in Eve Borsook and Fiorella Superbi Gioffredi, ed. *Italian Altarpieces 1250-1550: Function and Design*, (Oxford, 1994) 81-98, 89.

⁴⁵³ The documents are recorded in full. Freuler, "Sienese Quattrocento Painting in the Service of Spiritual Propaganda," 97-98.

⁴⁵⁴ Reinforced by Bossio who visits the Oratory in 1575 and describes a panel of the Virgin and Saints there. See Document 19 in Freuler, "Sienese Quattrocento Painting in the Service of Spiritual Propaganda," 90-91.

⁴⁵⁵ Freuler points out the penitential nature of worship at the Oratory is emphasized through the iconography of Jerome and Giovanni Colombini who appear in the robes of the Gesuati. Jerome also beats his breast with a stone. Freuler, "Sienese Quattrocento Painting in the Service of Spiritual Propaganda," 91-92.

first episode showing SS. Cosmas and Damian and their three brothers before Lysias. In the second image the moment when Lysias is attacked by a demon is shown along with the next part of the narrative, when Cosmas and Damian and their brothers are thrown in the sea and miraculously rescued by an angel.⁴⁵⁶ In the third panel the saints are crucified and in the fourth they are martyred through decapitation. The final two episodes are devoted to the miracle of the black leg. In the first scene the saints can be seen removing the leg of the dead Ethiopian who lies in his grave (Figure 76). The second image shows them in the bedroom of the ill churchman replacing his cancerous white leg with the healthy black one (Figure 77)

The presence of SS. Cosmas and Damian in important positions in a large altarpiece such as this one as well as the extensive tale of their Life in the predella supports the identification of this panel as the one paid for by the doctor Francesco da Gubbio. The Gesuati were dedicated to caring for the sick and SS. Cosmas and Damian do appear in the painting for the high altar of San Girolamo, also commissioned by the *Compagnia della Vergine*, but not with the same prominence.⁴⁵⁷ In the San Girolamo altarpiece Cosmas and Damian are present in the pinnacles only and the predella is devoted to St. Jerome (Figure 78).⁴⁵⁸

⁴⁵⁶ This is the same way Fra Angelico combined the two parts of the story in the San Marco altarpiece thus incorporating more of the story than he had been able to in the Annalena altarpiece. Sano gives the two episodes equal priority whereas Angelico makes the demonic attack much more important.

⁴⁵⁷ The Gesuati, like other orders of S. Jerome dedicated themselves to caring for the sick. Van Os, *Sienese Altarpieces II*, 54-57. Brandi says S. Anthony is also there because they cured the sick, both the physically ill and the possessed. Brandi, *La Regia Pinacoteca di Siena*, 257-259.

⁴⁵⁸ Siena 246, approx. 320 x 282cm including original frame. It was commissioned in 1439 and signed and dated 1444. The predella, in the Louvre, depicts scenes from the life of S. Jerome

Another prominent dedication to SS. Cosmas and Damian was of the burial chapel of Giovanni Chellini, a successful physician whose devotion to Cosmas and Damian was longstanding; he even named his first son Cosimo. The chapel is in the church of San Domenico, formerly dedicated to S. Jacopo and S. Lucia in San Miniato al Tedesco near Florence. On April 18 1456, Chellini wrote in his *Ricordanze* that he gave money to have a chapel built in the church dedicated to SS. Cosmas and Damian, describing "...my chapel that that I had newly dedicated in the name of the glorious saints and martyrs of Christ SS. Cosmas and Damian..."⁴⁵⁹ Chellini also endowed a daily mass and a celebration of the feast day of Cosmas and Damian. Upon his death in 1462 he was buried there by his nephew and heir Bartolomeo.⁴⁶⁰

The altarpiece in the chapel, possibly by Giusto d'Andrea, is dated to ca.1460 (Figure 79).⁴⁶¹ It includes a Madonna and Child flanked by SS. John the Evangelist, Cosmas, Damian and Thomas, who are most likely the patron saints of Giovanni and his sons Cosimo and Tommaso. In the predella are scenes from the lives of the saints in the main panel, including two from the Life of SS.

(1128, 1130, 1132). Torriti, *La Pinacoteca Nazionale di Siena*, 254. Freuler, "Sienese Quattrocento Painting in the Service of Spiritual Propaganda," 81, 90.

⁴⁵⁹ "...mia capella che di nuovo ò fatta titolare in nome dei gloriosi santi e Martiri di Cristo santo Cosimo e santo Damiano..." Maria Teresa Sillano, ed., *Le Ricordanze di Giovanni Chellini da San Miniato. Medico, mercante e umanista (1425-1457)*, (Milan, 1984) 215.

⁴⁶⁰ He was buried by his nephew Bartolommeo as his sons did not survive him. Sillano, *Le Ricordanze di Giovanni Chellini*, 47. Robinson, *Cosimo de' Medici's Patronage of the Observantist Movement*, 152.

⁴⁶¹ The Chellini Altarpiece (177cm x 161cm) has also been given to Michelino but Robinson thinks Giusto d'Andrea. Robinson, *Cosimo de' Medici's Patronage of the Observantist Movement*, 152. Van Marle says Piero di Lorenzo. Raimond Van Marle, *The Development of the Italian Schools of Painting X*, (The Hague, 1928) 515, fig. 309. Berenson also believes the artist to be Giusto d'Andrea. Berenson, *Florentine School*, 226. George Kaftal also gives it to Giusto d'Andrea. Kaftal, *Iconography of the Saints in Tuscan Painting*, 289-296.

Cosmas and Damian. They are the *Beheading of Cosmas and Damian* and the *Miracle of the Black Leg*. Also included are the *Adoration of the Magi* and the *Virgin giving her belt to S. Thomas*. The two scenes that include SS. Cosmas and Damian appear to be indebted to Pesellino's panels of the same events for the predella of Lippi's Novitiate Altarpiece of the mid 1440s (Fig. 118 and Fig. 119). The renditions of the same story are very similar compositionally. The prominence accorded to Cosmas and Damian in the chapel and altarpiece is testament to the personal devotion of Giovanni Chellini.

The saints are also included in a 1474 *Coronation of the Virgin* intended for the Oratory of S. Maria a Fortino in San Miniato. Chellini was a patron of the chapel, which was attached to the hospital of San Martino, and he donated money for rebuilding and decoration in 1460.⁴⁶² In the painting, commissioned ca. 1474 after Chellini's death by his nephew Bartolomeo, SS. Cosmas and Damian appear with other medical saints Lucy and Stephen, who are associated with more specific complaints, as well as S. Bartholomew.⁴⁶³

The relationship now apparent in the mid fifteenth century between lay physicians and their holy counterparts is illuminated in the writings of Giovanni Garzoni. Garzoni was a Bolognese doctor with a degree from the University of Bologna who practiced medicine and taught practical medicine at the university

⁴⁶² Sillano, *Le Ricordanze di Giovanni Chellini*, 47.

⁴⁶³ 307 x 172 cm. The panel is now in the *Museo dell'Arciconfraternita della Misericordia*, San Miniato. Lucy is associated with complaints of the eyes and Sebastian was associated with the plague. The painting is said to be by a Botticelli follower. Robinson also notes that the *Coronation of the Virgin* is framed separately. Robinson, *Cosimo de' Medici's Patronage of the Observantist Movement*, 148

from 1466 until his death in 1505. Medicine was a profession he had inherited from his father and he was also a humanist rhetorician and prolific writer.⁴⁶⁴ Amongst his hagiographic writings was a *passio* of SS. Cosmas and Damian, which he introduces by pointing out that his motivation for writing it was professional, “The oration I wrote in praise of medicine is known throughout Italy. So I ought not to overlook Cosmas and Damian, since they cherished the medical science, indeed so greatly, that they recalled to life people who were almost dead from sickness.” Indeed in the preface he goes on to explain that his intention in writing the *passio* was to support medicine within the context of the humanist discussion about the relative value of the various professions, ending the preface “Finally, the loquacity of many men, who have denigrated [medicine], must be opposed. For they will find no area of knowledge in which so many holy men flourished.”⁴⁶⁵ Alison Frazier points out how unusual, perhaps even unique it is, even amongst humanist hagiographers for an author to have a lay, professional motivation in writing a *passio*.⁴⁶⁶

In this time of recurring epidemics and less than perfect science, the reputation of doctors fluctuated, as they were perceived as being more or less

⁴⁶⁴ During his youth his father had been a physician to Nicholas V. Alison Knowles Frazier, *Possible Lives: Authors and Saints in Renaissance Italy*, (New York, 2005) 169-172.

⁴⁶⁵ BHL 1976d. Frazier’s transl. of the preface to Giovanni Garzoni, *Passion of Cosmas and Damian*, Bologna BU MS 1676 f.76v. Alison Knowles Frazier, *Italian Humanists as Authors of vitae sanctorum, 1417-1521* (PhD Columbia University, 1997) 174-175. See also Frazier, *Possible Lives*, 400.

⁴⁶⁶ In fact she knows of no other example. Frazier, *Possible Lives*, 186, n.90; Frazier, *Italian Humanists as Authors of vitae sanctorum*, 175-176.

effective.⁴⁶⁷ In fact the lack of confidence was probably strongest directly after 1348 when doctors appeared to not know how to deal with the Black Death, a situation that improved through successive bouts of the plague.⁴⁶⁸ The costume also failed to command the universal respect of the general public and there were voices that ridiculed doctors' attachment to the finery and by implication their status.⁴⁶⁹

In many circumstances the populace continued to seek supernatural healing. Illness and disease, particularly epidemic disease, still were often attributed to the wrath of God and the Church remained heavily involved in healing.⁴⁷⁰ As in previous centuries secular and sacred healing options coexisted

⁴⁶⁷ Some scholars find signs of collapse in public confidence in the ability of physicians after the Black Death but not all. French, *Medicine Before Science*, 127-129. Katharine Park sees a strong effect on medical practice, status of medicine and its practitioners were weakened after failing to fight the plague. Park, *Doctors and Medicine in Early Renaissance Florence*, 32-46. Nancy Siraisi believes the medical profession remain essentially unchanged and that the lack of effectiveness of doctors cannot have been a revelation for the populace. Nancy Siraisi, *Medicine and the Italian Universities, 1200-1600* (Leiden, 2001) 160-161. John Henderson also maintains the general public did not shy away from doctors and points out that the commune took on more medical practitioners to fight the plague. John Henderson, "The Black Death in Florence: Medical and Communal Responses" Steven Basset, ed. *Death in Towns. Urban Responses to the Dying and the Dead, 100-1600* (Leicester, 1992) 136-150.

⁴⁶⁸ Cohn points out that as early as the 1380 chroniclers such as Stefani point out that progress has been made since 1348. By 1415 some of the doctors' advice seems to be working, the decreasing mortality rate was also aided by the natural increase in immunity. Cohn, *The Black Death Transformed*, 225-240.

⁴⁶⁹ Boccaccio describes Florentines returning home with university degrees: "We are constantly seeing fellow-citizens of ours returning from Bologna as judges or physicians or lawyers, tricked out in long flowing robes of scarlet and vair, looking very grand and impressive, but failing to live up to their splendid appearance." Boccaccio, "Eighth Day, Ninth Story," *Decameron*, G.H. McWilliam, trans., (London, 1995) 616. Petrarch in a letter to a doctor, Francesco di Bartolomeo Casini da Siena, describes other doctors as, "...vestiti di porpora e d'oro, si credon fatti arbitri della vita e della morte." Corsini, *Il costume del medico*, 3. Nancy Siraisi makes the point that Petrarch was quite vehemently anti-doctor and was responsible for helping to create a "strand of humanist rhetoric unfavourable to medicine" that was not the majority opinion. Siraisi, *Medicine and the Italian Universities*, 161-162.

⁴⁷⁰ Confession was the Church's nearest approximation to a ritual of healing. Their healing was primarily spiritual but of course if the cause of the illness was sin, then healing could also occur. Richard Palmer, "The Church, Leprosy and Plague in Medieval and Early Modern Europe"

most of the time.⁴⁷¹ Prayer and spiritual healing retained importance even in the hospital environments where attention was given to both the healing of the body and the healing of the soul.⁴⁷² Saints, such as Cosmas and Damian, performed miracles through God and continued to be appealed to as intercessors, alongside conventional medicine, in lieu of conventional medicine or indeed after conventional medicine had failed. At the same time their sanctity was bound up in their professional status that, unlike most saints, they did not abandon in their Christian vocation.⁴⁷³

Despite the fact that the appearance of SS. Cosmas and Damian mirrored that of medical professionals, they remained immune from the problems of perception common to their human counterparts. Cosmas and Damian, as saints, were not reliant on medical knowledge or science for their cures. It is easy to see why they were attractive to doctors in the manner expressed by Garzoni. He recognized the saints themselves as cherishing science and expressed his desire to further the position of medicine within the context of the humanist debate about

Studies in Church History 19 The Church and Healing (1982) 79-99. Park point out that some afflictions, like possession, were always considered not to have occurred through natural causes and in these cases doctors shared healing with the clergy. Park, *Doctors and Medicine in Early Renaissance Florence*, 50-51.

⁴⁷¹ Palmer explains that causes of disease could be reconciled through theories of primary and secondary causation and that monasteries and popes hired physicians and hospitals had chaplains. Epidemic was more difficult as both Church and State sought to control the disease and came into conflict over methods. For example the church desiring public processions and the health offices banning assemblies. Palmer, "The Church, Leprosy and Plague in Medieval and Early Modern Europe," 87-99.

⁴⁷² John Henderson, *The Renaissance Hospital*, 113-146.

⁴⁷³ Most individuals who became holy as adults abandoned previous professions, such as teaching and the law. Donald Weinstein and Rudolph M. Bell, *Saints and Society. The Two Worlds of Western Christendom, 1000-1700* (Chicago, 1982) 100-120. *The Golden Legend* reveals no other doctors aside from S. Luke and a very few lawyers, none of whom were known for legal work after following the path to sanctity. Jacobus da Voragine, *The Golden Legend*. Trans. William Granger Ryan. S. Ivo remains an exception as he continued to practice in his saintly guise.

the relative values of the professions through his writing of the *passio*. Here the tale of SS. Cosmas and Damian was presented as proof of the value and virtuous nature of the medical profession in fifteenth century Italy.

Chapter 4. Medici Interest and the Transformation into Political Saints.

The late-medieval iconography of SS. Cosmas and Damian was well established by the time the Medici family began to include the saints in images. Although not a hugely popular cult, the saints were certainly known and their legend was widely disseminated in compilations of hagiography such as the *Golden Legend*. As was established in the third chapter of this thesis their cult remained overwhelmingly connected to healing and the medical profession and images of the saints were produced consistently in that context. The position of the saints, as intercessors for and protectors of the Medici family, and more particularly Cosimo de' Medici, allowed the doctor saints to appear in unfamiliar locations granting them a prominence not achieved before in the history of the cult. At the same time the clear identification of the saints with the family allowed them to act as a reminder of the family's position in Florence. The association between the saints and the Medici family was promoted and understood both inside and outside of Florence.

Part 1: Origins of Medici interest in SS. Cosmas and Damian.

Evidence of Medici interest in the doctor saints began to appear when the Cafaggiolo branch of the family rose to prominence under the leadership of Giovanni di Bicci. In fact the earliest record of a connection between SS. Cosmas and Damian and the Medici family seems to be when Giovanni di Bicci chose to

name his son Cosimo. As early as the fifteenth century many people assumed that Cosimo was so named because he was born on September 27, the feast day of SS. Cosmas and Damian. They were likely also confused by the fact that Cosimo seems to have actually celebrated his birthday on that day.⁴⁷⁴ Machiavelli stated unequivocally, “He was born in 1389, the day of St. Cosimo and St. Damian” and many historians accepted this assertion.⁴⁷⁵ Scipione Ammirato, working backward from the tomb inscription in San Lorenzo came up with a birth date of April 11, 1389 for Cosimo. Ammirato then assumed that Giovanni di Bicci chose the name Cosimo because the doctor saints must have already been considered protectors of the Medici family, likely due to the pun on their name.⁴⁷⁶

Ammirato seems to have been correct, as documentary evidence does point to a birth date of April 10 or 11, 1389 for Cosimo.⁴⁷⁷ Nothing has been found yet to support the assertion that the Medici were already interested in the

⁴⁷⁴ Susan McKillop cites a number of contemporary sources that show Cosimo did celebrate on September 27. Susan McKillop, “Dante and Lumen Christi: A Proposal for the meaning of the Tomb of Cosimo de’Medici” in Francis Ames-Lewis, ed., *Cosimo ‘il Vecchio’ de’Medici, 1389-1464. Essays in Commemoration of the 600th Anniversary of Cosimo de’Medici’s Birth* (Oxford, 1992) 245-303. In a letter to Cosimo from Marsilio Ficino written on the 4th of September, 1462 he promised to get back to Cosimo before the end of the month to celebrate Cosimo’s “*natalem diem*” Curt S. Gutkind. *Cosimo de’Medici. Pater Patriae 1389 – 1464* (Oxford 1938) 243. Indeed *natalem* can be the anniversary of a saint’s death or a birthday.

⁴⁷⁵ Niccolò Machiavelli, *Florentine Histories VII*, Laura F. Banfield and Harvey C. Mansfield, Jr. Trans. (Princeton, 1988) 6, 282. In the eighteenth century Fabroni writes: “Tantus vir patriam habuit Florentiam, parentes vero Joannem Averardi cognomento Biccii Medicei F. & Piccardam Averardi Buerii F. Quod in lucem editus est an. M CCCL XXXVIII die SS. Martyrum Cosmi & Damiani, festo Cosmi nomen obtinuit.” Angelo Fabroni, *Magni Cosmi Medicei Vita*, (Pisa, 1789) 2.

⁴⁷⁶ McKillop, “Dante and Lumen Christi,” 246. See also Robinson, *Cosimo de’Medici’s Patronage of the Observantist Movement*, 96.

⁴⁷⁷ Scipione Ammirato, *Opusculi, vol iii: Ritratti d’huomini illustri di Casa Medici del Ramo de Duchi di Firenze e Gran Duchi di Toscana* (Florence, 1642) 6. Susan McKillop also writes that the date is recorded several times in the Florentine *Libri dell’eta* as April 10, 1389. McKillop, “Dante and Lumen Christi,” 246. See also Dale Kent, *Cosimo de’Medici and the Florentine Renaissance: The Patron’s Oeuvre*, (New Haven, 2000) 142, n.89.

cult of SS. Cosmas and Damian or to prove that they promoted the cult of these saints before the time Giovanni di Bicci. None of the earlier known images of the saints in central Italy, discussed in the third chapter of this study, can be shown to be linked to the family. Neither Cosmas nor Damian are traditional Medici family names nor do they occur in the family of Piccarda Bueri, the wife of Giovanni di Bicci.⁴⁷⁸ In fact, according to David Herlihy, although naming children after saints was the most popular form of naming at the time, the name Cosmas/Cosimo was not used in Tuscany in the thirteenth century at all and only appears in Florentine records in 1416, when Cosimo was an adolescent and his branch of the Medici family were already prominent.⁴⁷⁹

So why did Giovanni di Bicci choose such an unusual name for his son? Naming a child after a saint could ensure assistance from that saint as a spiritual guardian, and could also perhaps replicate the fortune of that saint or some of their special qualities for that child.⁴⁸⁰ The names of saints known as healers were particularly popular in the aftermath of periods of ferocious epidemics and

⁴⁷⁸ The name does not appear before Cosimo at all. Pompeo Litta, *Famiglie Celebri Italiane, Medici*, (Milan, 1827-1828). See also, Gene Brucker, "The Medici in the Fourteenth Century" *Speculum* 32 (1957) 1-26.

⁴⁷⁹ Herlihy points out that the association with the Medici increases the popularity of the name Cosimo dramatically in the 15th C, especially when you compare it to Damiano (which was not a Medici name) and ends up a fourth less popular than Cosimo. David Herlihy, "Tuscan Names, 1200-1530" *Renaissance Quarterly* 41(1988), 561-582.

⁴⁸⁰ It should be noted that Cosimo was not the only unusual name chosen by Giovanni di Bicci. Lorenzo was also not a name common to the Medici family, however it was not "as new to Medici family nomenclature as...Cosimo and Damiano" as described by Dale Kent. D. Kent, *Cosimo de' Medici*, 185. There was at least one fourteenth-century Medici called Lorenzo di Francesco de' Medici who is mentioned by Gene Brucker as being convicted of murder in 1343. Brucker, "The Medici in the Fourteenth Century," 13.

Florence in 1389 was reeling from a half century of plagues.⁴⁸¹ Also Giovanni spent a good part of his early career in Rome and would have been familiar with the cult of SS. Cosmas and Damian and the church of SS. Cosma e Damiano on the via Sacra with its sixth-century inscription describing the saints as ‘MARTYRIBUS MEDICIS,’ prior to the birth of his first son.⁴⁸²

Indeed there is evidence of a relationship between the Medici family and the church of SS. Cosma e Damiano in Rome that appears in two letters from after the time of Giovanni di Bicci and it is not outside the realms of possibility that such a relationship was initiated by him. The first letter, which must be from before 1440 as it is addressed to both of Giovanni’s sons Cosimo and Lorenzo (d.1440), asks for money to replace the altar frontal. There seems to be an expectation that the Medici would be willing to help in this matter as if they had helped in the past.⁴⁸³ In the second letter it becomes more apparent that there had been a history between the family and the church in Rome. Canon Piero Pierannino describes how Lorenzo had made previous donations to the church for various items and that he had apparently stated that if they needed anything else to let him know: "that when Lorenzo de'Medici had been in Rome he spent gold

⁴⁸¹ Early martyrs were also experiencing a surge in popularity due to their victory over suffering. Herlihy, “Tuscan Names”, 577-581. Further SS. Cosmas and Damian were of course medical and had been associated with plague shrines as discussed in Chapter 3.

⁴⁸² Giovanni di Bicci was managing the Roman branch of the Medici bank from 1385 (the firm was Vieri di Cambio de’Medici) and in fact the bank was called ‘Vieri e Giovanni de’Medici in Roma’ from 1386 to 1393, by which time Giovanni seems to have been on his own running the Roman bank. By 1397 Giovanni di Bicci had transferred his headquarters to Florence. Raymond de Roover, *The Rise and Decline of the Medici Bank, 1397-1494*, (Cambridge, Mass, 1963) 36-39.

⁴⁸³ ASF MAP 13:80. Robinson, *Cosimo de’Medici’s Patronage of the Observantist Movement*, 188.

ducats on the reparation of the church and then he gave me a chalice, vestments and a bed for the chaplain and then he told me that if the church needed anything to write to you..."⁴⁸⁴ He goes on to ask for money to buy a missal, lecterns and to complete some general repairs including some to the famous metal door that was then the main entrance to the church.⁴⁸⁵

Pompeo Litta provides further possible illumination. In his Medici family tree, Giovanni di Bicci de' Medici and Piccarda d'Odoardo Bueri are shown as having had four sons: Antonio (d. 1398), Damiano (d. 1390), Cosimo (d. 1464) and Lorenzo (d. 1440).⁴⁸⁶ If Piccarda and Giovanni had twins, combined with the association of the family name with the word 'medici' this could also have inspired the choice of names. Dale Kent points out that throughout her extensive research of Florentine genealogical records she has found Litta to be generally reliable.⁴⁸⁷ However, there remains no other reference to the dead brothers and Litta's source has yet to be discovered.⁴⁸⁸ Pieraccini discusses Litta's extra

⁴⁸⁴ "che Lorenzo delli Medici fu in roma spese in reparatione della dicta ecclesia ducati d'oro cx poi me deve uno calice e uno parato de piti e uno lecto fornito per llo cappellano e poi me comandava che se la detta ecclesia avesse avisongio di niente che io scrivessi alle vostre signorie me allo presente." ASF MAP 7:113, Robinson, *Cosimo de' Medici's Patronage of the Observantist Movement*, 187.

⁴⁸⁵ "Avo abisongio di uno messale de quello prezo che piace alla sig. vostra, abisongia uno lecto per llo cappellano averia abisongio lo campanile della detta ecclesia de reparationi cioe sei o vero sette solara delename per sallire nella detta ecclesia quando lavolemo, reconciare per che non ce salluta nulla averia abisvengio quello tempio retondo come se entra alla porta dello metallo de reparatione se non se ne vene in terra." Crispin Robinson record the letter as being addressed to both Cosimo and Lorenzo de' Medici and thus dates it to before 1440, the year of Lorenzo's death. Robinson, *Cosimo de' Medici's Patronage of the Observantist Movement*, 187, 103-104. Dale Kent, on the other hand, writes the letter was addressed to Giovanni di Cosimo and therefore dates it to much later. MAP 7:113. D. Kent, *Cosimo de' Medici*, 142.

⁴⁸⁶ Litta, *Famiglie Celebri Italiane*, Medici, Tavola VIII.

⁴⁸⁷ Dale Kent, *Cosimo de' Medici*, 11, n.24.

⁴⁸⁸ Francis Ames-Lewis, who believes Damiano and Antonio to exist, has had some preliminary research done in order to find documents. He thanks Gino Corti for a search in the Florentine Archivio di Stato for documentary evidence of Antonio and Damiano de' Medici. He had no

Medici sons but points out that there is no other mention of them. Interestingly he also includes the information that in a funeral elegy to Piccarda de'Bueri, Cosimo's mother, a lost daughter is mentioned as having been a sorrow in her life and no lost sons, conversely no daughter appears in Litta.⁴⁸⁹

Although the possible birth of twins may have prompted Giovanni di Bicci to name his sons after the doctor saints, it seems Giovanni di Bicci considered SS. Cosmas and Damian to be family protectors, not just the name saints of his son. With the name Medici an association with the doctor saints must have seemed entirely fitting. What is not known is whether his devotion was inspired by contact with the cult in Rome during the early part of his career or by an historical link with the family. The strong connection between Giovanni di Bicci and the saints certainly is understood in a letter dated 2 June 1417 from Fra Romulo de'Medici at San Francesco della Vigna in Venice to Giovanni di Bicci de'Medici.⁴⁹⁰ In the letter Fra Romulo is asking for money to repair San Damiano in Assisi. He mentions his knowledge of Giovanni's devotion to SS. Cosmas and Damian and describes seeing a painting of SS. Cosmas and Damian in a Medici

success in locating their names in the *Ufficiali della Grascia* 186 and 187, the registers of deaths that start from 1385. Registers of birth do not exist before 1450. Francis Ames-Lewis, "Art in the Service of the Family. The Taste and Patronage of Piero di Cosimo de'Medici" Andreas Beyer and Bruce Boucher eds., *Piero de'Medici 'il Gottoso' (1416-1469): Kunst im Dienste der Mediceer*, (Berlin, 1993) 207-220, 216 and n.31.

⁴⁸⁹ Zippel points this out and publishes the elegy by Marsuppini in G. Zippel, *Una gentildonna medicea (Piccarda Bueri)* (Citta di Castello, 1907). Gaetano Pieraccini, *La Stirpe de'Medici di Cafaggiolo I*, (Florence, 1986) 13-14.

⁴⁹⁰ Romulo first comes up in the will of Giovanni di Francesco da Gagliano, branch manager of the Medici bank in Venice, leaving money for Bosco ai Frati in 1417. In the letter to Giovanni di Bicci of the same year he mentions house in Venice where he saw a painting of Cosmas and Damian. Robinson, *Cosimo de'Medici's Patronage of the Observantist Movement*, 13.

house where Giovanni di Bicci lived in the Veneto.⁴⁹¹ Romulo goes on to explain the importance of San Damiano and how much they need money. He explains, that the friars are observant friars and that they are poor, further he points out that God shows the love he has for this church through the glorious saints Cosmas and Damian.⁴⁹² His appeal to Giovanni di Bicci specifically targets his devotion to SS. Cosmas and Damian, he explains that Giovanni helping out at San Damiano in Assisi would be a credit to Cosmas and Damian and thereby also benefit Giovanni.

As well as the painting described by Fra Romulo in the letter above there were a number of further images of SS. Cosmas and Damian associated with Giovanni di Bicci. There was an altarpiece that was seen in a main room of Giovanni di Bicci's palazzo in Florence. The panel has not been identified with a surviving painting and its original or intended location is not known, but its inclusion in the inventory demonstrates a family connection to the saints in the early Quattrocento. It is described in the 1417-1418 Medici inventory as, "a large a large altar panel showing saints Cosmas and Damian covered by a linen

⁴⁹¹ "E per chaso licito insieme con Matheo e Lotto io parlando, questo frate guardiando alla figura di nostra Donna e vegendo dallato Sci Chosme e Damiano..." ASF MAP 1:218. Robinson, *Cosimo de' Medici's Patronage of the Observantist Movement*, 183.

⁴⁹² "Nel qual luogo ci stanno e frati poveri dell'osservantia; e sono atti astare, e piu disce questo frate già più di venti anni sono che dio dimostrando l'amore che portava a quella chiesa per gli meriti dessi gloriosi sancti cosimo e damiano, volse che sancto francesco la riparasse che era caduca.... Non voglio più carcare se sarà la volontà di dio questa sancta chiesa eluogho prederà Giovanni Bigi per suo (?) di detti gloriosi martiri S Chosmas e Damiano che gli faranno in exstimabile habitatione in paradiso." Fra Romulo also points out that S. Francis' name was originally Giovanni. ASF MAP 1:218. Robinson, *Cosimo de' Medici's Patronage of the Observantist Movement*, 182-185.

cloth/sheet." ⁴⁹³ Another painting recorded at Montughi in the room of Giovanni di Bicci and his wife also included the saints, "in the room of Giovanni and monna Nonina...a beautiful painting with an image of Saint Cosmas and Damian." ⁴⁹⁴ Neither of these works has been associated with an existing panel; the earliest surviving Medici paintings of SS. Cosmas and Damian date from after Cosimo's return from exile in 1434.

Within Florence there is also evidence of Giovanni di Bicci actively supporting the cult of the saints. For example he endowed a chapel dedicated to SS. Cosmas and Damian at the church of San Lorenzo. There were also two canonries in the name of SS. Cosmas and Damian at the church in 1428 and an arrangement for candles to be lit on their feast day in the sacristy, which was adjacent to the chapel. ⁴⁹⁵ The sacristy, also built by Giovanni, served as his burial chapel and was dedicated to his own name saint, John the Evangelist. Both the chapel and the sacristy were completed by the end of 1428 during Giovanni di Bicci's lifetime, but the decoration was carried out after his death and burial in

⁴⁹³ "una tavola grande da altare, entrovi Sancto Cosimo e Damiano, coperta con uno lenzuolo." From the Florentine palace, "Nella prima camera di sala di sopra." Marco Spallanzani, ed. *Inventari Medicei 1417-1465: Giovanni di Bicci, Cosimo e Lorenzo di Giovanni, Piero di Cosimo*, (Florence, 1996) 35.

⁴⁹⁴ "in camera di Giovanni et di monna Nonina, verso fiesole, nuova. Una tavola co la imagine di San Cosme Damiano, bello." Spallanzani, *Inventari Medicei 1417-1465*, 65.

⁴⁹⁵ 28 Nov 1428, Giovanni further paid for three candles of 6lbs each to be lit on the saints' feast day in Old Sacristy. Cosimo and Lorenzo added two more 22 Jan 1446 in the chapel of SS. Cosmas and Damian and the Old Sacristy. Robinson, *Cosimo de' Medici's Patronage of the Observantist Movement*, 99-100.

1429 by his sons Cosimo and Lorenzo. In fact much of the work seems to have been carried out after Cosimo's return from exile in 1434.⁴⁹⁶

The sacristy had to function within the daily liturgical ritual of the church as well as acting as a burial place or funerary chapel for Giovanni di Bicci and his heirs. The complex iconographic programme of the sacristy, which in part tells the tale of S. John the Evangelist, includes SS. Cosmas and Damian twice amongst other saints that can be assumed to be relevant to Giovanni di Bicci individually and to the family as a whole. The first instance is in one of the two stucco lunettes above the bronze doors on either side of the altar (Figure 90). The lunettes by Donatello were probably completed around 1434-35.⁴⁹⁷ SS. Stephen and Lawrence are portrayed above the bronze door with representations of martyrs on it and SS. Cosmas and Damian are above the door with images of Apostles on it. Here the doctors appear in their customary long robes and berets but Donatello has removed the berets from their heads and has them lying on the saints shoulders. Their bare heads with close cropped hair and no beards combined with the draping of their robes gives the saints a more classical feel

⁴⁹⁶ Howard Saalman believes Cosimo was basically in charge of San Lorenzo from 1422, Howard Saalman, *Filippo Brunelleschi, The Buildings* (London, 1993) 112-116. Dale Kent writes that Cosimo and Lorenzo took over decoration in 1429. D. Kent, *Cosimo de' Medici*, 179-197. Ernst Gombrich believed Lorenzo took over at San Lorenzo after his father's death in honour of his patron saint. Ernst H. Gombrich, "The Early Medici as Patrons of Art: A Survey of Primary Sources" E.F. Jacob ed., *Italian Renaissance Studies: A tribute to the late Cecilia M. Ady* (London, 1960) 279-311, 282. For Medici involvement in the church see also Isabelle Hyman, *Fifteenth-Century Florentine Studies. The Palazzo Medici and a Ledger for the Church of San Lorenzo* (New York, 1977); Caroline Elam, "Cosimo de' Medici and San Lorenzo" in Ames-Lewis, ed., *Cosimo 'il Vecchio' de' Medici*, 157-176.

⁴⁹⁷ Usually dated through Donatello's whereabouts. The chapel and sacristy were built by 1428, Donatello was in Rome 1432-1433 and the Medici were exiled 1433-1434. Donatello leaves Florence again for Padua in 1443. Caroline Elam, "Brunelleschi and Donatello in the Old Sacristy" Fabrizio Bandini, ed. *Donatello at Close Range. An initial view of the restoration of the stuccoes in the Old Sacristy, S. Lorenzo Florence* (London, 1987) 9-10.

than other examples of the iconography examined thus far but the attributes remain consistent with contemporary Tuscan iconography. One holds a medical box and pincers and the other holds a book. A very similar interpretation of the iconography of the saints can be found in the second occasion of their appearance in the sacristy. It is the panel representing them that forms part of the bronze door known as the Martyrs' Door, completed sometime between 1437 and 1447.⁴⁹⁸

John Paoletti finds in Medici iconography important messages about dynastic continuity as can be seen in his analysis of the Bronze Doors which are understood as representing a Medici family tree.⁴⁹⁹ In fact he believes that family position and honour were the principal motivating forces behind the Medici artistic activity and that by the late 1430s Cosimo and Lorenzo "initiated a consistent assertion of surrogate personae in their imagery."⁵⁰⁰ He interprets the entire altar wall of the Old Sacristy as a family tree beginning with the images from the Life of S. John the Evangelist as representing Giovanni di Bicci in the pendentives and descending through the stucco lunettes, which include S. Cosmas and S. Lawrence. The top register of the Apostle's door, below the lunette of SS.

⁴⁹⁸ John Paoletti dates the doors to the same period as the lunettes, during Donatello's time in Florence between 1434 and 1443. John Paoletti, "Donatello's Bronze Doors for the Old Sacristy of San Lorenzo," *Artibus et Historiae* 21 (1990) 39-69.

⁴⁹⁹ He points out that iconography of the chapel also fulfils its function as a funerary chapel and as a quasi-civic space. Paoletti "Donatello's Bronze Doors" 36-69.

⁵⁰⁰ Paoletti, "Donatello's Bronze Doors" 49; John Paoletti "Fraternal Piety and Family Power: The Artistic Patronage of Cosimo and Lorenzo de' Medici" in Ames-Lewis, ed. *Cosimo 'il Vecchio' de' Medici*, 195-219, 195-196.

Cosmas and Damian, includes S. John the Evangelist and S. Peter the Apostle as representatives of Cosimo's sons Piero and Giovanni.⁵⁰¹

One of the difficulties with this argument is that many of the figures in the bronze doors remain unidentified which means that the programme as a whole cannot be completely understood. The rigidity of an interpretation that depends on particular saints standing in for a family member does not allow for what in practice appears a more fluid approach to individual saints. For example in this case it is necessary for Cosimo's son Piero to be represented by Peter the Apostle rather than his known patron S. Peter Martyr.⁵⁰² It seems saints are often included in Medici images for multiple reasons, both political and devotional.⁵⁰³

The transept chapel at San Lorenzo that was dedicated to the saints was altered as early as 1452 when the space was used to house a number of important relics belonging to the Medici family and thus the original decoration can only be speculated upon.⁵⁰⁴ With an altar dedicated to SS. Cosmas and Damian an

⁵⁰¹ Paoletti's interpretation of the altar wall of the old sacristy in full. Paoletti, "Donatello's Bronze Doors" 39-61.

⁵⁰² Paoletti explains that Susan McKillop's archival work turned up the proof for the association of Piero di Cosimo with S. Peter Martyr, as well as Orlandi's work on the *Libro Ricordanza A* from San Marco, where a document that explains that Cosimo endowed 4 feasts at San Marco: Epiphany, St. Mark, SS. Cosmas and Damian and St. Peter Martyr "l'ultima festa si fa in nome del suo figliolo cioe piero." Paoletti "Fraternal Piety and Family Power", 215. He mentions that perhaps Peter Martyr would be unsuitable in a Dominican context, further the doors included apostles and church doctors and that would make Peter the Apostle more appropriate. Paoletti, "Donatello's Bronze Doors," 39-69. Peter Martyr does appear outside of a Dominican context in the Medici altarpiece for the Franciscan convent of Bosco ai Frati.

⁵⁰³ Paoletti points out that Peter the Apostle (paired with Paul on the door panel) could be included as a reference to the papacy and the Medici position as papal bankers as well.

⁵⁰⁴ The church did hold some relics of SS. Cosmas and Damian which were likely associated with this chapel. Richa describes an arm of S. Cosmas and a relic of S. Damian. Richa, *Notizie Istoriche delle Chiese Fiorentine Divise ne'suoi Quartieri 5. Del Quartiere di S. Giovanni I* (Florence, 1757) 44-49.

altarpiece would have been appropriate but none has been identified securely at this time.

Part 2: The Annalena Altarpiece

One work that has been suggested as a possible candidate for the altarpiece in the chapel at San Lorenzo is the Annalena altarpiece (Figure 91). The altarpiece is the earliest surviving painting commissioned by the Medici that developed fully the iconography of SS. Cosmas and Damian.⁵⁰⁵ The Annalena altarpiece is named after its first known location in the Dominican convent of San Vincenzo d'Annalena. The convent, founded in 1450 and built beginning 1453, was unlikely to have been the intended location of the altarpiece, which was more probably painted in the mid 1430s.⁵⁰⁶ The date has been arrived at through analysis of the style of the painting, which is thought to have been painted after the Linaiuoli Tabernacle of the early 1430s, but before the high altarpiece at San Marco at the end of the decade.⁵⁰⁷ If the date is accepted, the altarpiece can be

⁵⁰⁵ Dale Kent believes the Annalena altarpiece was the earliest commissioned by Cosimo. D. Kent, *Cosimo de' Medici*, 144. Although Cosimo was head of the family, it is hard to separate him from Lorenzo who seems to have been involved in most commissions prior to his death in 1440. Paoletti "Fraternal Piety and Family Power," 195-196.

⁵⁰⁶ It seems generally accepted that the altarpiece was not originally intended for San Vincenzo, it has only one Dominican saint and not a hint of S. Vincent Ferrer who was canonized in 1455.

⁵⁰⁷ For the mid 1430s See: Luciano Berti in *Mostra delle opere di Fra Angelico nel quinto centenario della morte*, (Palazzo Apostolico Vaticano, 1955) 36-37. William Hood who believes the colour modelling in this work is analogous to others of the mid 1430s, William Hood, *Fra Angelico at San Marco*, (New Haven, 1993) 102. Also Stefano Orlandi, *Beato Angelico: Monografia storica della vita e delle opere con un'appendice di nuovi documenti*, (Florence, 1964) 39-45. Beissel also thinks it must be earlier than San Marco due to the style of the architecture and how close the Virgin is to the Linaiuoli Tabernacle 1433. Stephan Beissel, *Fra Giovanni Angelico da Fiesole: sein Leben und seine Werke*, (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1905) 50, 53. John Pope-Hennessy believes it to be from around 1445 because he thinks the predella is not by

included amongst the early examples of the Quattrocento *pala*.⁵⁰⁸ The Virgin sits on a raised throne with the Child on her lap; behind her is a gold curtain which forms the back of the shallow space in which the saints stand.⁵⁰⁹ To her immediate right are Saints Cosmas, Damian and Peter Martyr. On her left is John the Evangelist, followed by Saints Lawrence and Francis. The predella includes an unusually complete narrative of the life of SS. Cosmas and Damian.

Perhaps the appearance of SS. Cosmas and Damian points to the 1430s as well. In both the main panel and the predella Cosmas and Damian are easily recognizable as they are dressed as fifteenth-century doctors. Both saints are wearing magenta cloaks that are fastened at the neck and leave one shoulder uncovered. Underneath they have on blue tunics, trimmed with vair at the cuffs and red stockings. In the main panel the saint to the immediate right of the Virgin has removed his long red vair-trimmed beret, which can be seen resting on his shoulder. He is holding a palm and gesturing toward Christ with his right hand while holding a round medical box in his left. His brother, who is partially

Fra Angelico so it must have been completed after he went to Rome. John Pope-Hennessy, *Fra Angelico* (London, 1974) 211.

⁵⁰⁸ Fra Angelico used this shape for the Cortona Annunciation, also early/mid 1430s, which still has its original classicising frame. Filippo Lippi famously employed the form in the Annunciation he painted for the Martelli Chapel at San Lorenzo, which is dated to ca. 1437 and may well be the first example of the fully developed early Renaissance *pala*. Christa Gardner von Teuffel, "From Polyptych to Pala: some structural considerations" in Henk van Os and J.R.J. Asperen de Boer, ed. *La Pittura nel XIV e XV Secolo. Il Contributo dell'analisi tecnica alla storia dell'arte. Atti del XXIV Congresso Internazionale di Storia dell'Arte*, (Bologna, 1979) 323-344; and Christa Gardner von Teuffel, "Lorenzo Monaco, Filippo Lippi und Filippo Brunelleschi: die Erfindung der Renaissancepala" *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 45(1982) 1-30.

⁵⁰⁹ Hood quite plausibly presents the Annalena altarpiece as an intermediate painting, between the old gold grounded polyptych and the new unified field type like San Marco. The gold curtain acts as a sort of gold ground and the niches above the figures separating them without actually having separate panels anymore. Hood, *Fra Angelico at San Marco*, 102-104

obscured, keeps his beret on his head and in his right hand a martyr's palm is visible.

The costume appears in one other early work by Fra Angelico. SS. Cosmas and Damian are in the predella to the altarpiece painted by Angelico in the mid 1420s for the church of San Domenico in Fiesole.⁵¹⁰ The subject of the main panel is the Virgin and Child with saints Thomas Aquinas, Barnabas, Dominic and Peter Martyr. The predella represents *Christ Glorified in the Court of Heaven*. It is in five panels with the risen Christ in the centre surrounded by an angelic host. The image to the immediate left of Christ is of the Virgin with apostles and apostolic saints. To the right are the biblical precursors of Christ and Christian martyrs. The two outer panels represent members of the Dominican community, including many local *beati*.⁵¹¹ Cosmas and Damian are included amongst the second row of martyrs, bearded brothers, easily recognizable in the long magenta robes and long, fur-trimmed berets also seen in the Annalena altarpiece (Figure 92). Their presence is not unusual as Cosmas and Damian were amongst the early Christian martyrs included in the Dominican Calendar from the mid-thirteenth century.⁵¹²

⁵¹⁰ Although the altar was dedicated 1435, seems generally accepted to be painted in the mid-1420s. Diane Cole Ahl, "Fra Angelico: A New Chronology for the 1420s" *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 43 (1980) 360-381. John Pope-Hennessy also says mid 1420s. Pope-Hennessy, *Fra Angelico*, 10-11.

⁵¹¹ Davies believes much of the predella to be Angelico's hand. For identifications of the figures see Martin Davies, *The Earlier Italian Schools, National Gallery Catalogues* (London, 1986) 16-26.

⁵¹² September 27, Simplex. They were included from the beginning and appear in the calendar approved by Humbert of Romans 1254-1256. William R. Bonniwell, *A History of the Dominican Liturgy*, (New York, 1945).

The clothing worn by Cosmas and Damian in all Fra Angelico's subsequent works remains essentially the same, apart from the long beret, which does not reappear. By the time of the San Marco altarpiece begun ca. 1439 the saints wear the more fashionable round beret, not seen in either the altarpiece from Fiesole or the Annalena panel, but very consistent in all later representations of SS. Cosmas and Damian by Angelico. If looked at within the development of Fra Angelico's use of the iconography of SS. Cosmas and Damian the Annalena altarpiece would seem to fit after the painting from Fiesole in which the costume and types have more in common with some of the works discussed in the previous chapter. Further the types of the saints in the Annalena panel with their clean shaven faces and very short hair are reminiscent of the version of the iconography used by Donatello for the lunette at the sacristy in San Lorenzo, reinforced by the similar use of the beret lying on the shoulder. It should be noted that Angelico did not adopt any particular type for SS. Cosmas and Damian rather he seems to have adapted the look of the saints for each individual circumstance.

Although the original location of the altarpiece is not known, it seems certain that it was a Medici commission. The saints included: Cosmas, Damian, John the Evangelist, Lawrence, Peter Martyr and Francis, all appear in other family works and are usually associated with Giovanni di Bicci, his sons Cosimo, Lorenzo and their sons Piero di Cosimo and Pierfrancesco di Lorenzo.⁵¹³ The

⁵¹³ Francis Ames-Lewis posits the idea that Francis represents either Pierfrancesco di Lorenzo or his older brother Francesco di Lorenzo. Francesco, born 1415-1420, predeceased Lorenzo but did live long enough to marry. As he dates the Annalena altarpiece to 1435 he thinks Francesco is more likely than Pierfrancesco. Ames-Lewis, "Art in the Service of the Family," 212.

inclusion of these saints is consistent with early Medici patronage, and often was only accompanied by the Medici *stemma* or the *palle* as an indicator of patronage.⁵¹⁴

Cosmas and Damian were not only in the most important position in the altarpiece, to the right of the Virgin and Child, but also formed the subject of the predella making it almost certain the painting was intended for an altar dedicated to SS. Cosmas and Damian, either public or private.⁵¹⁵ William Hood made a case for the panel to have been intended for the Medici chapel at San Lorenzo, founded by Giovanni di Bicci and dedicated to the doctor saints. Although there were no early sources that described an altarpiece, Hood argued it would be likely that Cosimo and Lorenzo would have commissioned one for the chapel while they were having Donatello work in the sacristy. The altarpiece would have been commissioned around 1434 and later taken to the convent of the Annalena in 1452 when the chapel at San Lorenzo became the repository of relics that belonged to the family.⁵¹⁶ He believed the size and form of the altarpiece were

⁵¹⁴ Complex or emblematic designs signifying the family did not develop until later in the fifteenth century, Cosimo il Vecchio uses the stemma, palle and Cosmas and Damian. Francis Ames-Lewis, "Early Medicean Devices" *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 42, (1979) 122-143.

⁵¹⁵ In Susan McKillop's often mentioned unpublished/upcoming book there is said to be an extensive discussion of possible locations of the altarpiece.

⁵¹⁶ The foundress of the convent was also a Medici relation. Hood, *Fra Angelico at San Marco*, 104-107. A further panel that has been suggested as part of the earlier decoration of the Medici Chapel is the Annunciation by Lippi currently in the Martelli Chapel. Francis Ames-Lewis believes the Annunciation to be a work from the 1430s that was moved to the Martelli Chapel ca. 1450 when it was built. He believes the Annunciation was originally two cupboard doors, perhaps to house silver or relics. Francis Ames-Lewis, "Fra Filippo Lippi's San Lorenzo Annunciation," *Storia dell'Arte* 69 (1990) 155-163. This does not seem likely as the back of the Martelli panel is rough and undecorated and would be unlikely to be the inside of doors that could be opened. Christa Gardner von Teuffel discusses this with respect to the proposal that the panel could have once been organ doors. Further the Martelli chapel, adjacent to the Medici chapel, was in all

consistent with information given in the 1434 document that set out directions for the building of nave chapels at San Lorenzo based on the existing Medici chapel and sacristy.⁵¹⁷ It is certain iconographically that the altarpiece suited a family chapel of this type dedicated to SS. Cosmas and Damian, but the directions in the 1434 document do remained vague enough that they could not validate the insertion of the Annalena altarpiece into the Medici chapel with absolute certainty.

Seven predella panels illustrating scenes from the life of Cosmas and Damian are associated with the Annalena altarpiece and are thought to have been designed by Fra Angelico, but executed by his workshop.⁵¹⁸ The lack of sophistication in this predella, particularly when compared to that of San Marco, has been one of the major reasons for historians' attributing it to the workshop rather than to Angelico himself. The narrative compositions seem awkward and

probability at least begun in the 1420s. Gardner von Teuffel, "Lorenzo Monaco, Filippo Lippi und Filippo Brunelleschi," 18-25.

⁵¹⁷ The 1434 document was published by Jeffrey Ruda. "A 1434 Building Programme for San Lorenzo in Florence," *Burlington Magazine* 120, (1978) 358-361. Also Howard Saalman, "San Lorenzo: the 1434 Chapel Project," *Burlington Magazine* 120, (1978) 361-364. The 1434 document does indicate that future chapels were to match the existing ones particularly the Medici chapel, in design and ornamentation. Directions are given for the structure and form of each chapel altar and its altarpiece which described as a "Tabula quadrata et sine civoriis, picta honorabiliter...." Gardner von Teuffel, "Lorenzo Monaco, Filippo Lippi und Filippo Brunelleschi," 23-28. The size of each chapel and the niche within it (7 x 3.5 braccia) is given but not the altar. Hood believes the altar in the Medici chapel may have been the same size as the one in the old sacristy (3.5 braccia wide) that was dated 1432. This could correspond to the width of the hypothetical frame of the Annalena altarpiece. Hood, *Fra Angelico at San Marco*, 106. It should be pointed out that the braccia is not a stable measurement, however the Annalena panel is of a similar size to the Annunciation painted by Filippo Lippi intended for the Martelli Chapel in the same church.

⁵¹⁸ Hood, *Fra Angelico at San Marco*, 104. John Pope-Hennessy believes the panels are neither designed nor executed by Fra Angelico and favours Zanobi Strozzi. Pope-Hennessy, *Fra Angelico*, 28-29. Cornelia Syre believes both the dating of the predella and its affiliation to the altarpiece to be problematic. Cornelia Syre, *Fra Angelico: Die Münchner Tafeln und der Hochaltar von San Marco in Florenz*, (Munich, 1996) 32.

often crowded with figures that are large with respect to the backgrounds. The architectural spaces are not very well defined and most of the action takes place at the very front of the picture plane. Six of the scenes are now with the main panel in the Museo di San Marco, they include: *Damian Receiving Money from Palladia*, *Saints Cosmas and Damian before Lysias*, *Cosmas and Damian rescued from the Sea by an Angel*, *Burning of Cosmas and Damian*, *Crucifixion of Saints Cosmas and Damian* and *Beheading of Saints Cosmas and Damian* (Figure 93 to Figure 98).⁵¹⁹ Another likely to be included is the *Miracle of the Black Leg* (Figure 99).⁵²⁰ At least one scene from the predella, but perhaps two, has not been found.⁵²¹

Although there is no known precedent for such a comprehensive treatment of the life of Cosmas and Damian, there are several surviving examples of episodes from the saints' lives. The most prevalent scenes are the martyrdom of SS. Cosmas and Damian and the miracle of the black leg. They occur together in both the predella to the late-fourteenth century panel by the Master of the Rinuccini Chapel (Figure 55 and Figure 56) and in the very similar panel by Bicci

⁵¹⁹These ones were formerly in the *Cappella di San Luca* in the Sanctissima Annunziata. Pope-Hennessy, *Fra Angelico*, 211.

⁵²⁰Sold in 1965 as part of the Spencer-Churchill Collection from Northwick Park. It was exhibited at Christies in London in 1964 as a miracle of SS. Cosmas and Damian by Fra Angelico from the predella to the Annalena Altarpiece having been at one time in the collection of the Duke of Lucca. It is 7 3/4" x 8 1/2" very similar size to the six panels at the Museo di San Marco. Christie's, *Exhibition of Old Master Paintings and Works of Art from the Northwick Collection*, Dec. 31 1964 – Jan 14 1965, (London, 1964) 3. Pope-Hennessy, *Fra Angelico*, 211.

⁵²¹The main panel is 180 x 202 cm, and the seven predella panels are approximately 20 x 22cm each. Assuming the predella was at least as big as the main panel then at least two scenes are missing. John Pope-Hennessy believes there were eight scenes from the life of Cosmas and Damian and a *Pietà*. Pope-Hennessy, *Fra Angelico*, 28. Umberto Baldini's reconstruction (from Salmi) speculates that the middle scene and the second to last scene are missing. Umberto Baldini, *L'Opera complete dell'Angelico*, (Milan, 1970) 100-101.

di Lorenzo for the Florentine Duomo of 1429 (Figure 69). The 1409 Annunciation altarpiece by Taddeo di Bartolo is linked to a panel depicting the crucifixion of Cosmas and Damian (Figure 73), and it is entirely possible that there were more scenes from the life of the saints in the original predella. In Taddeo's version of the scene the stones can clearly be seen turning on those throwing them and in fact have been scratched and damaged by pious spectators seeking to injure the saints' torturers. The three brothers of Cosmas and Damian are not included in this scene.

There are three further panels attributed to Mariotto di Nardo that remain unassociated with any known altarpieces and their existence raises the possibility of other lost scenes from the life of Cosmas and Damian. The first, an unusual image dated to ca.1400, illustrates two of the miracles of SS. Cosmas and Damian, the popular *Miracle of the Black Leg* and the very rare *Miracle of the woman protected from the Devil* also known as the *Miracle of Malchus' Wife* (Figure 100).⁵²² To the right of the panel SS. Cosmas and Damian can be seen floating above the bed of the churchman whose leg they are replacing. The left hand part of the panel depicts the man Malchus praying in front of an image of SS. Cosmas and Damian asking them to protect his wife while he is away on a long journey. In fact he and his wife are portrayed standing before an altar dedicated to the saints. In the next scene the devil attacks the woman on her horse, but is prevented from killing her by Cosmas and Damian and a "host of

⁵²²Titled *Scenes from legend of SS. Cosmas and Damian* ca. 1400, 1871.29. 24.1x73.4cm. It was exhibited 19th C as Lorenzo di Bicci. Charles Seymour Jr. *Early Italian Paintings in the Yale University Art Gallery*, (New Haven, 1970) 54-55.

men clad in white.”⁵²³ Although the story is invariably included in legends this is the only surviving Italian representation of the episode.⁵²⁴

The two other predella panels attributed to Mariotto di Nardo possibly come from an unidentified polyptych, dated to ca. 1405-10, and were most likely part of a larger cycle of scenes.⁵²⁵ The two episodes depicted are the *Crucifixion of Cosmas and Damian* and the *Martyrdom of Cosmas and Damian* (Figure 101 and Figure 102). In the crucifixion Cosmas and Damian, identifiable in their long red berets, are suspended from crosses. Their three brothers look on while stones are thrown at the saints and arrows are shot at them. The stones are clearly not hitting the saints, but cannot be seen to be turning back on those throwing them either.

In the Martyrdom scene one of the saints has already been beheaded while the executioner, turned away from the viewer, lifts his sword in order to dispatch the other. Again the three brothers look on waiting their turn. The position of the swordsman is repeated by Angelico in the predella of the later San Marco altarpiece (Figure 110). Lysias is also present observing his sentence being carried out.

⁵²³ Jacobus de Voragine, *The Golden Legend*, 2, 197.

⁵²⁴ Malco's wife is an old miracle of Cosmas and Damian. It appears in BHL 1970, and in the earlier *Vita Asiatica* (BHG 372). It also appears in the *Libellus miraculorum* edited by Deubner but takes place in Constantinople. Luongo "Il 'dossier' agiografico," 47-49. Zimmerman, *One Leg in the Grave*, 72.

⁵²⁵ Both panels are at the Worcester Art Museum, E.112.03.4; E.112.03.5. Approx. 12"x12". Slides sent by Rita Albertson at the Worcester Art Museum. Could be intended to go underneath a large altarpiece, or perhaps three panels on either side of a central scene, maybe even cupboard doors.

Although not a complete rendition of the hagiographic tales, these examples do demonstrate that Fra Angelico was working within an existing tradition of representing the legend of SS. Cosmas and Damian. Nonetheless in devising a cycle of so many scenes representing the Life of the saints it seems most likely that Fra Angelico's primary source was either literary or liturgical, a point that will be considered here.

The version of the legend most prevalent at the time was based on BHL 1970 and found in the *Golden Legend* written in the thirteenth century by fellow Dominican Jacobus da Voragine. There were other versions of the tale circulating at the time but they only deviate from the narrative in details, reflecting the aforementioned consistency of the hagiography in the Latin tradition. For example Crispin Robinson identifies a fifteenth-century Florentine life of Cosmas and Damian that includes the variation of the egg detail as Palladia's gift. The manuscript includes only two posthumous miracles, the miracle of the peasant and the snake and that of the black leg.⁵²⁶ A second is a fourteenth-century *vita* in the Bibliotheca Medicea Laurenziana, BHL 1976, that Albinia De La Mare believes could possibly be the *vita* from Cosimo de' Medici's study that has not yet been identified with an existing manuscript.⁵²⁷ Valeria Novembri, who translated the document, rather more ambitiously believes it might have belonged to Peter Martyr as well as Cosimo but unfortunately there are no annotations and

⁵²⁶ BNF Magliabecchiana 38:8. There are no distinguishing marks on the manuscript so its origin is unclear. Robinson, *Cosimo de' Medici's Patronage of the Observantist Movement*, 93-94, 97.

⁵²⁷ 1417/1418 inventory, in Cosimo's study, "Vita beatorum Cosme et Damiani" Marco Spallanzani, ed. *Inventari Medicei*, 22. De La Mare, "Cosimo and his Books," 115-156, 126.

the spaces for initials have been left blank.⁵²⁸ Again the *vita* is very close to Voragine but it is more comprehensive, adding several further posthumous miracles including those used in defence of images at the second Nicene Council.⁵²⁹ Bonino Mombrizio, who edited a *passio* in the fifteenth century as part of his successful *Sanctuarium*, focuses entirely on the martyrdom of the saints elaborated with prayers and quotations from the psalms. He does not include episodes from the *vita*, such as the description of the saints' childhood or the miracle of the healing of Palladia. He also omits any posthumous miracles.⁵³⁰

For the Annalena altarpiece Angelico begins the narrative with the first miracle from the life of Cosmas and Damian. In this tale Palladia, a woman who has been plagued by illness her entire life, is miraculously cured by the two brothers. In gratitude Palladia begged Damian, in the name of the Lord to receive a gift from her, and despite agreeing with Cosmas not to receive payment for their healing services, he relented. When Cosmas heard of this action he gave orders that he did not wish to be buried with Damian, however the Lord explained Damian's actions to Cosmas in dream the next night. The moment represented in the image is of Damian taking the money from Palladia, while Cosmas has already turned away. At some point Damian's mouth has been

⁵²⁸ On the first page there is a very faint remnant the name, Petrus Martir (really just the indentation left by writing) in the margin below the text but this is not proof that it was later thought to have belonged to the saint. It makes the document earlier than the accepted dating. Novembri. in Elena Gianelli Ed. *Cosma e Damiano dall'Oriente a Firenze*, 149-191.

⁵²⁹ Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Pluteo 20, codice 8. VITA ET MIRACULA AUCT. IUSTINO DIAC. ORD. MIN. Bandinius, *Catalogus Codicum Latinorum Bibliothecae Mediceae Laurentiae I*, 619-620. Dated by A.C. De La Mare, "Cosimo and his Books," 126.

⁵³⁰ Mombrizius, *Sanctuarium*, 210v-212. Stilling includes the same text in the *Acta Sanctorum*. AASS VII, 471-472.

scratched, an action that must be linked to his perceived betrayal of Cosmas in the tale.

In the second scene, Cosmas and Damian and their three brothers, Antimas, Leontius, and Euprepus, have been brought before the regional proconsul Lysias who has heard of their healing. Upon their refusal to renounce Christianity and sacrifice to the idols, Lysias condemns them to death. The artist goes on to illustrate three scenes of the attempted martyrdom of the saints. First Cosmas and Damian are bound and thrown into the sea, but they are immediately rescued by an angel. Here the three brothers of the saints have been omitted, despite being called for in the legend.

The second attempt portrayed is when the five brothers are thrown into a fire, while Lysias watches from his balcony above. Rather than harming Cosmas and Damian the fire leapt out and injured the bystanders instead who are shown recoiling in agony. Finally, Lysias orders Cosmas and Damian crucified while being stoned by the crowd and when this fails he has soldiers shoot arrows at them and their brothers who by this time have been brought out of prison. As mentioned above both the stones and arrows are incorporated into the same scene. The stones and arrows have been carefully represented to show how they actually turned in mid air to strike the soldiers with whom they originated, rather than the saints. In the Golden Legend the three brothers of Cosmas and Damian are not present at the stoning but are present when the arrows are shot, both Angelico and Mariotto di Nardo have chosen to include them in the combined

scene. Taddeo di Bartolo does not include them because he has chosen only to represent the stoning.

In this episode Angelico's approach can be compared to the two earlier examples of the same event. Although he may not have executed the painting, the design is thought to have been his and on a formal level his composition differs somewhat from the examples that date to the first decade of the fifteenth century. Both Taddeo di Bartolo and Mariotto di Nardo place their crucifixions in a shallow foreground before a rocky or mountainous landscape against a gold ground. Angelico's crucifixion takes place in a very flat landscape against a blue sky. A pink rendered wall is used behind the saints as a device to create a sense of perspective and a space in which the action takes place.

After having failed to kill the five brothers, Lysias orders them beheaded, the subject of the sixth scene. Again the most striking difference between this panel and its predecessors is the naturalistic landscape setting. The position of the swordsman and SS. Cosmas and Damian is identical to that found in the panel by Bicci di Lorenzo in the Duomo, but unlike Bicci di Lorenzo Angelico is faithful to the legend, including all five brothers, as does Mariotto di Nardo.

Finally, the narrative ends with the most famous of the saints' posthumous miracles, that of the Black Leg. Here Cosmas and Damian are seen in the bedchamber of the sleeping churchman miraculously replacing his cancerous leg as an attendant sleeps. The action is focussed entirely on the replacement of the leg and the Ethiopian in the cemetery is not included.

The Annalena predella is generally arranged the same way as the later San Marco predella. In both, Angelico excludes the miracle of the peasant and the snake and the miracle of Malco's wife. At San Marco two further events are added: Lysias being attacked by demons, which is part of the scene in which the saints are thrown in the sea and the entire episode of the burial of SS. Cosmas and Damian. The missing panel from the Annalena altarpiece is quite possibly the burial scene as it forms the completion of the Palladia tale. Here Cosmas and Damian are buried together after the miraculous words of a camel, which explains to the Christians that Cosmas did in fact forgive his brother for accepting the gift given to him by Palladia in gratitude for her healing.⁵³¹

William Hood suggests Angelico's interpretation of the legend of SS. Cosmas and Damian for the predella came through the manner of his exposure to the tale. As a Dominican friar, Angelico would have heard the legend at least twice each year on September 27, the feast of SS. Cosmas and Damian. He explains that the nine short reading suggested for the matins of SS. Cosmas and Damian in the Dominican breviary, taken from the *Golden Legend*, relate the narrative almost exactly as Fra Angelico shows it on the San Marco altarpiece (and by extension the Annalena altarpiece, which includes most of the same episodes). He explains that only one reading, the first, the telling of childhood, is

⁵³¹ Luciano Berti mentions a scene of the burial of Cosmas and Damian that was apparently seen by Cavalcaselli but is now lost, *Mostra delle Opere di Fra Angelico*, 38-39.

omitted. The other eight readings are included. They were broken into episodes as the San Marco was and the breviary omitted the miracle of the snake.⁵³²

In fact the nine readings in the Dominican breviary do not match Angelico's selection of episodes. Angelico's scenes do however echo the structure of the episodes in the *Golden Legend* that was the source for the condensed tales in the breviary. In the breviary the first lesson includes the episode of childhood and a statement about the healing mission of the saints. The second and third lessons describe the Palladia miracle beginning with the healing and Damian's acceptance of some remuneration and ending with Cosmas' vision in which the Lord explains Damian's action. The saints are then brought before Lysias and thrown into the sea in the fourth lesson and Lysias being attacked by demons stands alone as lesson five. The fire and crucifixion and stoning occur in lesson six and the arrows are shot at the saints in lesson seven which also encompasses their beheading as well as their burial and the miracle of the speaking camel. The miracle of the peasant and the snake is indeed included as lesson eight and finally the tale of the black leg ends the nine lessons.⁵³³ In shorter versions of the breviary some detail is left out, such as the burial and the miracle of the speaking camel.⁵³⁴

⁵³² Hood cites BNF Conv. Soppr. J.iv.17 fols. 381-381v. Hood, *Fra Angelico at San Marco*, 114-115.

⁵³³ The nine lessons are in an almost contemporary *Sanctorale* that can be found in the Breviary of Savonarola, printed in 1481 and used at San Marco. Armando F. Verde, ed. *Il Breviario di Frate Girolamo Savonarola. Riproduzione fototipica dell'incunabulo Banco Rari 310 della Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze*, (Florence, 1998) 279v-280v.

⁵³⁴ For example a slightly more condensed legend than Savonarola's is found in a 1492 Dominican breviary that was at one point owned by a Florentine called frater sebastianus de Castro. Begin. [fol. 1 recto:] *Ianuarius habet dies .xxxj...* [fol. 17 recto:] *Psalterium. Venite*

Given the wealth of narrative detail in the Annalena predella and more conspicuously in the San Marco predella, it seems most likely that Angelico and his patron used as a literary source a complete version of the *vita* as found in the *Golden Legend*.⁵³⁵ Further in his choice of events to include in scenes in some cases it seems he could also have been influenced by artistic conventions already established, rather than the lessons in the breviary. For example in the Dominican breviary the stoning and shooting of arrows at the saints are broken into two separate lessons whereas in the example by Mariotto di Nardo the two events are combined into one image just as they are in Angelico's panels (Figure 101). Some events such as the miracle of the peasant and the snake are not represented in Italian painting, although they appear in Eastern examples of a similar time such as in the fourteenth-century frescoes at Mistra (Figure 35).⁵³⁶

The unusual amount of space dedicated to SS. Cosmas and Damian in the Annalena altarpiece, and more particularly the predella, is surpassed only by the San Marco altarpiece. At the convent of San Marco the rededication of the main chapel of the church to SS. Cosmas and Damian, under the auspices of the Medici, provided for an even more detailed rendering of the legend of the saints

exultemus dno... [fol. 69 recto:] End. *Incipit breuiarium. G.L...more...ordinis sacratissimi fratri...* *p...dicato* (Published Venice, 1492 by Ioanne Emericum de Spira). In a further particularly small example of the breviary from 1484 only a short paragraph is included for each saint. .

p...dicato...ordine...frat... Begin. [fol. 1 recto:] *Incipit co...pe...diu... diurni eiusde...institutio...is ac...que...da... diurnu ...* End. *Explicit breuiariu fessore...accuratissime castigatu... etc.*

G.L...regularis vite instructu... (published Venice, 1484 by B. de Blavis and A. Torresanus).

⁵³⁵ Fra Angelico's use of *Golden Legend* was not restricted to Cosmas and Damian. T. de Wyzewa, "Fra Angelico au Louvre et la Légende Dorée," *La Revue de l'art ancien et moderne* 16, (1904) 329-340.

⁵³⁶ The frescoes in the diakonikon of the church include a number of images of healing saints and their miracles, including the patron Demetrius. Suzy Dufrenne dates the frescoes to the end of the thirteenth century. Suzy Dufrenne, *Les programmes iconographique des églises byzantines de Mistra* (Paris, 1970).

by Angelico. Indeed Medici patronage of the entire complex allowed for the representation of SS. Cosmas and Damian in a number of different contexts throughout the convent.

Part 3: San Marco

In 1436 Cosimo and Lorenzo de' Medici arranged for the derelict Silvestrine house of San Marco to be taken over by the Observant Dominicans from Fiesole. The chronicle of Giuliano Lapaccini, written before 1457, indicates that the finding of a home in the city for the observant Dominicans of Fiesole and the subsequent exchange of churches occurred with the help of Cosimo and Lorenzo de' Medici.⁵³⁷

According to Vespasiano da Bisticci, Cosimo, anxious for God to pardon him for the manner in which he had accumulated his wealth, agreed to undertake the entire rebuilding of the convent at the suggestion of Pope Eugenius IV. The need for intercession was felt keenly by Cosimo, Vespasiano presents him as a patron with specific concerns for his soul:

He had prickings of conscience that certain portions of his wealth – where it came from I cannot say – had not been righteously gained, and to remove this weight from his shoulders he held conference with Pope Eugenius, who was then in Florence, as to the load which lay on his conscience. Pope Eugenius had settled the Observantist Order in San Marco; but, as their

⁵³⁷ Raoul Morçay, "La Cronaca del convento fiorentino di San Marco. La parte più antica, dettata da Giuliano Lapaccini" *Archivio Storico Italiano* 71, (1913) 1-29. The Silvestrines underwent an official visitation in 1435 in order to assess their ability to run the monastery and were given permission to stay at San Marco, but by 1436 San Marco was given to the Dominicans by the Pope Eugenius IV under pressure from the Signoria and the *Chronicon* of S. Antonino indicates that the petition of the Signoria was at the request of Cosimo and Lorenzo de' Medici who were by then very powerful (Cosimo was gonfalonier di giustizia in 1435). Robinson, *Cosimo de' Medici's Patronage of the Observantist Movement*, 67-70.

lodging there was inadequate, he remarked to Cosimo that, if he was bent on unburdening his soul, he might build a monastery.⁵³⁸

Vespasiano suggests that Cosimo had accumulated his wealth in a less than salubrious manner. Further, although it has been stated many times, it is useful to reiterate that the profession of banking by its very nature constantly broke the injunction against usury. As Raymond De Roover explains that any increment demanded above the principal on a loan was considered usurious.⁵³⁹ The only way to escape the stigma of usury was to try and ‘return it all to the poor’.⁵⁴⁰ It is believed that Cosimo, like other wealthy merchants, had an account book with God to keep track of his monetary payments toward his spiritual debts.⁵⁴¹ Here Eugenius IV seems to be giving Cosimo direct guidance on how best to unburden himself of his ill-gotten gains.

Consequently, in 1438, the convent handed the rights of the high altar and tribune of church to Cosimo and Lorenzo de’Medici.⁵⁴² Although Vespasiano emphasizes Cosimo as patron of San Marco, the Lapaccini chronicle always

⁵³⁸ Vespasiano da Bisticci, *The Vespasiano Memoirs: Lives of Illustrious Men of the XV Century*. William George and Emily Waters, trans., (Toronto, 1997) 218-219.

⁵³⁹ Most methods of avoiding usury were based on technicalities and clever interpretations. Everyone was aware of the technicalities, there was quite a bit of theological discussion and many bankers were uncomfortable with their profession. De Roover, *The Rise and Decline of the Medici Bank*, 10-14.

⁵⁴⁰ “Return it to the poor,” quoted in the correspondence of Francesco Datini a merchant from Prato. Iris Origo, *The Merchant of Prato* (London, 1957) 149.

⁵⁴¹ Also reflected in the emphasis on exact amounts in accounts like Vespasiano’s and in family correspondence. Gombrich, “The Early Medici as Patrons of Art,” 284-285. Greater wealth enabled an individual to participate in more good works and could enhance that person’s standing before God. D. Kent, *Cosimo de’Medici*, 132-134.

⁵⁴² They held the *ius patronatus* of the main chapel. Rights given by Mariotto de’Banchi who got them from Agnolo di Ghezzo della Casa to prior Cypriano of San Marco who then gives them to Cosimo and Lorenzo in 1438 who rebuilt the areas they owned in the church and refurbished the interior. Morçay, “La Cronaca del convento fiorentino di San Marco” 12-13.

mentions both brothers and points out that when Lorenzo died in 1440 Cosimo was left on his own to finish the project.⁵⁴³

As a result of their patronage the main altar of the church was reconsecrated not only to St. Mark but also to the family patrons SS. Cosmas and Damian in the presence of Pope Eugenius IV on Epiphany in 1443 (1442).⁵⁴⁴ Cosimo and Lorenzo also built a further chapel of SS. Cosmas and Damian at the convent that housed the boys' confraternity of the purification.⁵⁴⁵ A letter published by Crispin Robinson seems to indicate an attempt in 1439, by the pope to acquire some substantial relics of SS. Cosmas and Damian, probably on behalf of the Medici. Because of the date it is likely the relics were intended for the altar at San Marco.⁵⁴⁶ The letter, sent under the pope's secret ring, was from Eugenius IV to Count Raymondo de Orsini Nolano of Amalfi, on behalf of some unnamed 'distinguished Florentine citizens' asking for the relics held in Amalfi to be sent to Florence.⁵⁴⁷ Count Nolano must have refused the request as the relics remained

⁵⁴³ Morçay, "La Cronaca del convento fiorentino di San Marco" 13.

⁵⁴⁴ Anno autem Domini M^oCCCC^oXLII^o de mense Januarii die videlicet solemnissimo Epiphaniae, necdum conventu plene aedificato consecrata fuit ecclesia de commissione S. Domini Nostri Eugenii papae IIII per quemdam presbyterum et episcopum cardinalem tituli sancti Marcelli, nomine Nicolaum (Niccolò Acciapacci, bishop of Capua), qui dicebatur Cardinalis Capuanus. Ad cujus solemnia missae venit praedictus summus Pontifex cum toto collegio cardinalum et magna episcoporum multitudine aliorumque praelatorum ecclesiae Dei et maxima concurrentia populi; et consecratum etiam fuit altare majus ab eodem cardinali in honorem sanctorum Marci evangelistae et Cosmae et Damiani. Morçay, "La Cronaca del convento fiorentino di San Marco" 16.

⁵⁴⁵ *Puerorum seu Purificationis sancte Mariae Virginis* in Lapaccini's chronicle. Morçay explains, from the Archive of San Domenico at Fiesole, that Cosimo built an oratory for the confraternity for the good of his soul. At the entrance to the oratory was a chapel was dedicated to SS. Cosmas and Damian that had in it an image of the saints. Morçay, "La Cronaca del convento fiorentino di San Marco", 15, n.2. Richard Trexler, *Public Life in Renaissance Florence*, (New York, 1980) 423, n.16.

⁵⁴⁶ Robinson, *Cosimo de' Medici's Patronage of the Observantist Movement*, 76.

⁵⁴⁷ 'egregii cives florentini' Robinson, *Cosimo de' Medici's Patronage of the Observantist Movement*, 101-102 and Document 7, 103.

in Amalfi and were listed in the *Acta Sanctorum* as, “maxima pars corporis sanctorum Cosmae et Damiani...”⁵⁴⁸ Although it would have been preferable, it was not required by canon law that the relics in the main altar were those of the titular saints.⁵⁴⁹ In any case, Richa records San Marco as possessing a bone of S. Mark that was likely there due to the original dedication of the foundation.⁵⁵⁰

In 1437 Cosimo and Lorenzo brought in Michelozzo to rebuild and refurbish the convent buildings and the church.⁵⁵¹ Fra Angelico was also commissioned to do work at the convent, including a major new altarpiece for the church, after Cosimo and Lorenzo de’Medici had acquired the patronal rights to the high altar of San Marco in 1438.⁵⁵² The paintings completed by Fra Angelico are described in the chronicle of Lapaccini, in a list of work undertaken by the Medici including the main altarpiece, chapter room, cloisters, all the upper cells and the refectory.⁵⁵³

⁵⁴⁸ *AASS VII*, 445.

⁵⁴⁹ Relics were needed at the time of consecration. The main altar should be dedicated to the saint or saints who were titulars of the church, but relics could be different. From Lateran IV, 1215. Julian Gardner, “Altars, Altarpieces and Art History: Legislation and Usage” Eve Borsook and Fiorella Superbi Gioffredi, eds. *Italian Altarpieces 1250-1550: Function and Design* (Oxford, 1994) 5-40.

⁵⁵⁰ The altar was dedicated to Mark as well as SS. Cosmas and Damian and certainly in the eighteenth century amongst the relics held by the church was a bone of S. Mark. Richa, *Notizie Istoriche delle chiese Fiorentine VII* 7, 113. Relics of SS. Cosmas and Damian were listed at San Lorenzo and could well have been associated with the family chapel in that church. Richa, *Notizie Istoriche delle Chiese Fiorentine Divise ne’suoi Quartieri V*, 49.

⁵⁵¹ In the church he was restricted to the Medici changes, around the apse area but he had a much freer hand in the convent. Miranda Ferrara and Francesco Quinterio, *Michelozzo di Bartolommeo*, (Florence, 1984) 185-196.

⁵⁵² The commission is dated through a letter from Domenico Veneziano to Piero di Cosimo, trying to get the job himself on 1 April, 1438. Syre, *Fra Angelico*, 30.

⁵⁵³ “Nam tabula altaris majoris et figurae capituli et ipsius primi claustrum et omnium cellarum superiorum et Crucifixi refectorii omnes pictae sunt per quemdam fratrem ordinis Praedicatorum et conventus Fesulani qui habebatur pro summo magistro in arte pictoria in Italia, qui frater Johannes Petri de Mugello dicebatur, homo totius modestiae et vitae religiosae.” Morçay, “La Cronaca del convento fiorentino di San Marco,” 14.

Fra Angelico probably started the main altarpiece in 1439 in Fiesole and although it was not necessarily finished in 1440 when the previous altarpiece was given away, it was definitely completed when the church of San Marco was dedicated in 1443.⁵⁵⁴ The altarpiece that was removed from San Marco was a *Coronation of the Virgin* painted in 1402 by Lorenzo di Niccolò. The predella included scenes from the lives of S. Mark and S. Benedict. When a new altarpiece was required, Cosimo and Lorenzo gave the 1402 panel as a gift to the Observant Dominicans at San Domenico at Cortona where it was set up in 1440 with the names of the Medici donors on it.⁵⁵⁵

Although the altarpiece painted by Lorenzo di Niccolò was not particularly old, there had been a lot of changes at San Marco and a new altarpiece was deemed necessary. With the Medici established as exclusive patrons of the main chapel of the church, SS. Cosmas and Damian became titular saints of the main altar along with Saint Mark. Furthermore this was the first Medici high altar in Florence in such a prominent position and thus was a major public expression of Medici patronage. It would seem something fashionable and up to date from a leading artist was called for including SS. Cosmas and Damian. The *Coronation of the Virgin* was quite a traditional panel with gold ground,

⁵⁵⁴ Hood, *Fra Angelico at San Marco*, 29-43; Morçay, "La Cronaca del convento fiorentino di San Marco," 16.

⁵⁵⁵ Altarpiece given 1438 as there is a thank you letter dated 26/12/1438, but it seems to have been put in place in 1440 as is attested by the predella inscription: CHOSIMO E LORENZO DI MEDICI DA FIRENZE ANO DATO CHUESTA TAVOLA A'FRATI DI SANCTO DOMENICHO DELL'OSSERVANZA DA CORTONA PER L'ANIMA LORO E DI LORO PASSATI. MCCCCXXXX. Anna Maria Maetze and Nicola Fruscoloni, *Il polittico di Lorenzo di Niccolò della Chiesa di San Domenico in Cortona, dopo il restauro*, (Cortona, 1986) 5-8. Lapaccini also writes that it was given to Cortona by Prior Cypriano after the Medici arms and name were added. Morçay, "La Cronaca del convento fiorentino di San Marco," 12.

pinnacles and clear separation of Mary from the Saints. Moreover with the Dominican's taking over at San Marco it would be logical to have a specifically Dominican theme. While the worship of the Virgin was important to the Order, it would be unusual to depict her on her own. By including Jesus in the painting her role in the Incarnation and special position as intercessor with her son are emphasized.⁵⁵⁶

Although the frame is lost, the main panel of the Angelico altarpiece is almost square in shape (Figure 103). The frame itself was probably closely related to Michelozzo's classicising architecture as is suggested by the Virgin's throne.⁵⁵⁷ Through the drawn curtains the viewer is invited by a kneeling Saint Cosmas to look toward the Virgin and Child on a raised throne, attended by saints and angels in a naturalistic outdoor setting. All the figures appear in a clearly defined three-dimensional space, emphasized by the pattern on the Anatolian carpet in the foreground and the architecture of the throne. This sense of real space is further heightened by the treed landscape that can be seen over the back wall that closes off the foreground.⁵⁵⁸ To the Virgin's immediate right is Saint Mark, rightfully in the most important place as patron of the church and

⁵⁵⁶ Dominicans had long been particularly interested in the Virgin and whilst early friars were encouraged to have pictures of the Virgin in their cells in larger images commissioned by the order the Virgin and Child enthroned was used most often. Joanna Cannon, "Simone Martini, the Dominicans and the Early Sienese Polyptych" *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 45, (1982) 69-93.

⁵⁵⁷ Gardner von Teuffel, "From Polyptych to Pala," 328. The square shape of the panel was likely influenced by the architecture of the church and the proposed position of the work C. Gilbert, "Peintres et menuisiers au début de la Renaissance en Italie" *Revue de l'art* 37, (1977) 9-28.

⁵⁵⁸ Many of the elements in this composition are described by in the contemporary *Della Pittura* : a window onto space, one-point perspective, *istoria*, figures related to one another by a variety of pose and gesture, a commentator figure establishing link with observer. Leon Battista Alberti, *On Painting*, Trans. John R. Spencer, (New Haven, 1966) 39-98.

monastery. Beside him is John the Evangelist followed by Lawrence. To the Virgin's left is Dominic, founder of the Order as well as Francis and Peter Martyr. Cosmas and Damian kneel on the carpet in the foreground. Due to the fact that certain important Dominican saints are missing, particularly Thomas Aquinas, it has been hypothesized that the pilasters on either side of the frame had images of saints represented in them.⁵⁵⁹

The iconography of the main panel fits in with the requirements of Dominican Observance as would be fitting for such an important location, presenting the central message of salvation that was celebrated daily in the liturgy, whilst accommodating the more specific interests of the patron and the saints local to the church.⁵⁶⁰ The mystery of the Incarnation, explicit in any image of the Virgin and Child is given a slightly different emphasis here as Christ, holds an orb with a world map on it and is surrounded by courtier angels emphasizing his role as divine ruler. On Mary's robes are verses from the apocryphal book of *Ecclesiasticus*, applied to Mary by the liturgy, which reinforces her role in the Incarnation and through that her power as an intercessor.⁵⁶¹ *Ecclesiasticus* also

⁵⁵⁹ A number of saints have been suggested by John Pope-Hennessy including Jerome, Bernard, Thomas Aquinas, Anthony Abbot, Benedict and maybe Roch. Pope-Hennessy, *Fra Angelico*, 201-202; See also Fern Rusk Shapley, *Catalogue of the Italian Paintings National Gallery of Art* (Washington, 1979) 8-10. A further two have recently been auctioned by Duke's Auctioneers in Dorchester and a plausible reconstruction can be found in Michael Liversidge, "Fra Angelico and the San Marco Altarpiece: Two Newly Discovered Panels" Duke's Auctioneers, *Fra Angelico: The San Marco Panels*, Sale Thursday 19th April, 2007 (Dorchester, 2007).

⁵⁶⁰ A solution arrived at over a century earlier by Simone Martini who communicated a whole programme of church decoration within his polyptych for S. Caterina in Pisa. The theological concept of a pictorial sermon illustrating the path to salvation. Belting, *Likeness and Presence*, 353-354, 404.

⁵⁶¹ The verse on her robe is in the Dominican Little Office from Ecclesiasticus 24: 24 and 23 "I am the mother of beautiful love...and of holy hope"; "Like a vine I caused loveliness to bud, and my blossoms became glorious and abundant fruit." Hood, *Fra Angelico at San Marco*, 108.

provides the source for the types of trees seen in the garden in the background: cedars, cypresses, palms and olives.⁵⁶² Strong and repeated Christological images emphasizing the Passion are placed along the central vertical axis of the altarpiece with a small painting of the Crucifixion directly below the Virgin and Child and a *Lamentation* or *imago pietatis* in the centre of the predella reinforcing the Eucharistic function of the altar (Figure 104).⁵⁶³

The Dominican mission is explicitly recalled by the text displayed by Saint Mark in his gospel, which he holds open and shows to John the Evangelist. The verses from the sixth chapter of his gospel, which are legible on the open page, Christ's directive, when "...he called the twelve; and began to send them two and two, and gave them power over unclean spirits. And he commanded them that they should take nothing for the way, but a staff only: no scrip, no bread, nor money in their purse."⁵⁶⁴ The passage refers to Dominic's decision to disperse his friars to preach on the apostolic model in poverty and empowered by the Holy Spirit.

⁵⁶² Ecclesiasticus 24: 16-19 "16 et radicavi in populo honorificato et in parte Dei mei hereditas illius et in plenitudine sanctorum detentio mea 17 quasi cedrus exaltata sum in Libano et quasi cypressus in monte 18 Sion, et quasi palma exaltata sum in Cades et quasi plantatio rosae in Hiericho 19 quasi oliva speciosa in campis et quasi platanus exaltata sum iuxta aquam in plateis."

Hood discusses the Marian imagery in depth. Hood, *Fra Angelico at San Marco*, 107-109.
⁵⁶³ A similar vertical "God" axis ending in a Man of Sorrows was used by Simone Martini in his altarpiece for the Dominicans at Santa Caterina in Pisa in 1320 to express the main theological idea of redemption through the incarnation of God. Cannon, "Simone Martini" 73. The *imago pietatis* recalled the Eucharist when it was placed on altars, and was often used in the predella in that context. The Crucifixion similarly has a history of representation on images above altars, appearing at the centre of stone retables and then in painted versions of the same. Belting, *Likeness and Presence*, 356, 443-446. Hans Belting, *Das Bild und sein Publikum im Mittelalter: Form und Funktion früher Bildtafeln der Passion*, (Berlin, 1981) 263-276.

⁵⁶⁴ Mark 6: 2-13

Saint Mark is directly to the Virgin's right, as titular saint of both the Church and the altar. Opposite him, on the left is Dominic, founder of the Order chosen to administer the church. The four remaining standing saints are John the Evangelist, Lawrence, Francis and Peter Martyr. Saints Cosmas and Damian kneel in the pose of donor figures in the foreground. They are the most direct expression of Medici patronage in the main panel of this altarpiece. As mentioned above, when San Marco was re-dedicated in 1443, the high altar was consecrated to Saints Cosmas and Damian, as well as Saint Mark. This necessitated their inclusion in the altarpiece in an important position, however the position Angelico chose is unusual.⁵⁶⁵ The Annalena altarpiece presents a more standard solution, where the Medici saints are included with the main group, rather than singled out in the foreground. At San Marco they are more prominent than the patron saints of the church and of the religious order, dominating the composition. Further Medici symbolism can be found in the carpet, upon which they are kneeling, which includes the Medici *palle* on its the border.⁵⁶⁶ Standing behind Cosmas is Saint Lawrence, patron of Lorenzo de' Medici. Both saints look directly out of the painting at the worshipper further emphasizing the name saints of the two patrons and a reminder that Lorenzo was still alive when the altarpiece was commissioned.

⁵⁶⁵ The Church Synod at Trier 1310 required every altar to have an image on it of the titular saint. Belting, *Likeness and Presence*, 443.

⁵⁶⁶ Also the orange trees acted as family symbols, the orange as 'mala medica'. Ames-Lewis, "Early Medicean Devices" 128. It has also been suggested that the pattern in the carpet is made up of the zodiacal signs Cancer and Pisces, reflecting the months marking the beginning and the end of the Council of Florence of 1438-1439. From an unpublished article by Susan McKillop, "He shall build a house for my name" quoted by Hood, *Fra Angelico at San Marco*, 116.

Cosmas, the most prominent saint, also gestures toward the Virgin and Child while Damian turns toward the holy pair in prayer.⁵⁶⁷ In fact in all of Angelico's Medici paintings he emphasizes one of the doctor saints over the other.⁵⁶⁸ John Paoletti proposes that having one saint turn away allows the viewer to consider the both the family and the individual, allowing SS. Cosmas and Damian to function as both Cosimo's personal patrons as well as patrons and symbols of the Medici family as a whole.⁵⁶⁹ While this interpretation seems plausible when discussing the images painted by Angelico, a similar emphasis does not appear in paintings by other artists such as Lippi or Baldovinetti indicating that it is not a general strategy in works commissioned by the family. Whilst clearly highlighting the individuality of Cosimo within the family patrons, the evidence points to a devotional explanation

The position of the saints echoes that of donor figures in votive portraits, an appropriate reading if the saints are also to be interpreted as recalling the

⁵⁶⁷ William Hood points out that although mediator figures are foreign to Dominican altarpieces, they are not unusual in Florence at the time. Hood, *Fra Angelico at San Marco*, 116. See Alberti: "I like to see someone who admonishes and points out to us what is happening there; or beckons with his hand to see..." Alberti, *On Painting*, 78.

⁵⁶⁸ Stefano Orlandi, rather implausibly, suggests that in the San Marco altarpiece in particular, S. Damian could be intended to represent Lorenzo di Giovanni who died in 1440 presumably around the time the panel was being painted. S. Damian faces away from the viewer to indicate that he is dead. Orlandi, *Beato Angelico*, 72.

⁵⁶⁹ Paoletti quotes a business contract of 1435, that seems to indicate that while S. Lawrence acts as Lorenzo's patron, SS. Cosmas and Damian could function both as Cosimo's personal saints and as the family protectors. The document refers to the reorganisation of the Medici bank. In the first paragraph the partners pray that the company will manifest the honour "di Dio e della gloriosa vergine Maria e di' gloriosi martiri Santo Lorenzo e Santo [sic] Cosimo et Damiano, e di tutta la celestiale corte di Paradiso." He believes St. Lawrence to represent Lorenzo and SS. Cosmas and Damian to represent Cosimo and the Medici family in general. Paoletti "Fraternal Piety and Family Power" 210-211, 216.

Medici family and more particularly Cosimo himself.⁵⁷⁰ Further, both the gesture of Saint Cosmas and reverential prayer of Saint Damian reinforce their most important roles, as models of devotion and as intercessors with the Virgin and Child on behalf of men such as Cosimo de' Medici. Robert Gaston points to the fact that contemporary commentators were sensitive to subtle differences in states of attention in paintings of the Virgin and Child that were important to the process of intercession and prayer. Cosmas directs the viewers attention toward the object of their prayers and Damian provides an example of devoted attention to be followed.⁵⁷¹ Further a gaze directed out of a painting could encourage more attentive behaviour from a devout audience as well as indicating the attentiveness of God and his saints. The contemplative state desired in prayer was in part based on a "reciprocity of attention between God, the devotee and his vision."⁵⁷²

In the San Marco panel SS. Cosmas and Damian appear in similar costume to that used by Angelico in the Annalena altarpiece. They both wear long magenta cloaks over blue tunics with vair trim on the cuffs. The cloaks are also lined with vair, an element of richness absent from Angelico's earlier painting. Here the saints wear the round beret, not seen in either the altarpiece

⁵⁷⁰ Hugo van der Velden, *The Donor's Image: Gerard Loyet and the Votive Portraits of Charles the Bold*, (Turnhout, 2000).

⁵⁷¹ There was a great subtlety in understanding of attention in the audience recorded in contemporary artistic theory and prayer theory. On a visual level, figures could also be representing naturalness and creating interest to attract and hold the attention of the viewer. Robert Gaston, "Attention and Inattention in Religious Painting of the Renaissance: Some Preliminary Observations" Andrew Morrogh, Fiorella Superbi Gioffredi, Piero Morselli, Eve Borsook, eds. *Renaissance Studies in Honor of Craig Hugh Smyth* (Florence, 1985) 253-268.

⁵⁷² Prayer theory was bound up in paradigm of civil and courtly etiquette. Robert Gaston, "Attention in Court: Visual Decorum in Medieval Prayer Theory and Early Italian Art," S. Zuraw, A. Ladis, eds. *Visions of Holiness: art and devotion in Renaissance Italy* (Athens GA, 2001) 137-154, 144.

from Fiesole or the Annalena, but very consistent in all later representations of SS. Cosmas and Damian by Angelico. They both hold the palm of the martyr, but the medical box seen in the Annalena panel is missing. Angelico always includes the martyr's palm, he does not use the pincers and if he chooses only one attribute it is the palm, always emphasizing the sacred rather than the secular aspect of their iconography. The facial type of the Cosmas is quite different in this image. His face is much more mature than in the Annalena painting, he also has a beard and shoulder length curly hair. It has been suggested, but never proven, that Saint Cosmas is a portrait of Cosimo de' Medici himself.

The other saints in the altarpiece, John the Evangelist, Francis and Peter Martyr have already been encountered in a Medici context. As discussed above they are patron saints to Giovanni di Bicci, Piero di Cosimo, Giovanni di Cosimo and Pierfrancesco di Lorenzo. The saints included are, except for Mark and Dominic, the same as those in the Annalena altarpiece. Three generations of the Medici family are thus included. However, the presence of Peter Martyr for example serves the purposes of the Order as well as the Medici. He was the most important Dominican saint after Dominic and is frequently on Dominican altarpieces.⁵⁷³ Lawrence, as well as being patron to Lorenzo de' Medici, was titular saint of the family parish church. Francis however, was unusual in a Dominican altarpiece and his presence has not yet been wholly explained. He was

⁵⁷³ There was a 1254 Dominican General Chapter directive that Peter Martyr be represented in every Dominican Church. Paoletti, "Fraternal Piety and Family Power," 215. Also John the Evangelist was no stranger to Dominican altarpieces, the O.P. liked evangelists as it tied in with their teaching mission. Joanna Cannon talks about this with respect to Simone Martini. Cannon, "Simone Martini," 69-73.

probably included at the request of the Medici.⁵⁷⁴ At the same time, his presence was likely also acceptable to the Dominican agenda at the convent. The iconography of the chapter room reveals an atmosphere of tolerance amongst the orders in accordance with views expressed in the writings of Antonino Pierozzi, prior of the convent from 1436.⁵⁷⁵

The predella of the San Marco altarpiece is made up of eight scenes from the life of Cosmas and Damian and the *Lamentation* described above (Figure 104). The inclusion of such a comprehensive narrative cycle dedicated exclusively to Cosmas and Damian must reflect the wishes of the patrons.⁵⁷⁶ There are no images in the predella of either Saint Mark or the two Dominican saints present in the main panel.

The narrative begins with the saints healing Palladia and Damian's subsequent acceptance of a modest gift (Figure 105).⁵⁷⁷ The next episode finds Cosmas, Damian and their brothers before proconsul Lysias who demands they sacrifice before the idols (Figure 106). In the third panel the doctors and their brothers are seen being thrown into the sea and then rescued by an angel, however this is only in the background. The foreground scene is that of Lysias' possession by demons (Figure 107). The three martyrdom episodes follow:

⁵⁷⁴ Hood believes him to be there at the request of Cosimo particularly noting the presence of Francis and the absence of St. Thomas Aquinas in the main panel. Hood, *Fra Angelico at San Marco*, 100; He could also be included as representative of the other great mendicant order that was so favoured by the patronage of the Medici.

⁵⁷⁵ See p228ff below.

⁵⁷⁶ William Hood explains that historiated predelle are rare on Dominican high altarpieces. He explains they exist for other Dominican altarpieces, but he cannot think of another one for a Dominican high altar. Hood, *Fra Angelico at San Marco*, 112.

⁵⁷⁷ *Healing of Palladia*, National Gallery, Washington (n.790) 36.5cm x 46.7 cm. Shapley, *Catalogue of the Italian Paintings*, 8-10.

burning, crucifixion and beheading (Figure 108, Figure 109, Figure 110).⁵⁷⁸ In the seventh panel the burial of the saints is depicted (Figure 111). The sequence ends with the miracle of the black leg (Figure 112).⁵⁷⁹

Altogether the nine scenes are significantly wider than the main panel.⁵⁸⁰

This has led to some scholars rejecting the two miracle scenes, which are stylistically different from the other seven. The colour, architecture and horizontal lines in the composition do not seem to match.⁵⁸¹ However, the accepted explanation is that two of the predella panels were intended to go on the sides of the pilasters, assuming the frame had substantial architectural pilasters at each end.⁵⁸² With the narrative arranged in chronological order, the miracle episodes would be first and last. This would mean they are the ones intended to go on either side, which perhaps would account for the differences in style. It is almost impossible to imagine any complete Italian narrative of SS. Cosmas and

⁵⁷⁸ *Cosmas and Damian before Lysias* 37.8 x 46.8cm; *Cosmas and Damian rescued from the Sea by an Angel/Lysias Attacked by Demons* 38.1 x 46.5cm; *Crucifixion of Cosmas and Damian* 38.2 x 46.1cm, all three are in the Alte Pinakothek in Munich along with the *Lamentation*, 38.0 x 46.5cm. Syre, *Fra Angelico*, 8-15. *Burning of Cosmas and Damian or Attempted Martyrdom of Cosmas and Damian by Fire*, 36 x 46cm. *National Gallery of Ireland. Illustrated Summary Catalogue of Paintings*, (Dublin, 1981) 2, N.242. *Beheading of Cosmas and Damian*, 36.3 x 46.2cm, Arnould Brejon de Lavergnée and Dominique Thiébaut, eds. *Catalogue sommaire illustré des peintures du musée du Louvre, II Italie, Espagne, Allemagne, Grande-Bretagne et divers* (Paris, 1981).

⁵⁷⁹ *Burial of Cosmas and Damian*, 37.8 x 45.5cm; *Miracle of the Black Leg*, 37 x 46.5cm. Museo di San Marco.

⁵⁸⁰ Main panel 220 x 227cm, narrative panels 412cm.

⁵⁸¹ The other seven have been shown, through technical analysis, to have been painted together. Cornelia Syre does not accept the two miracle scenes, and points out that pictures on the side would be extremely unusual; she can find only one example 1401 by Taddeo di Bartolo in Montepulciano. Syre, *Fra Angelico*, 23-26.

⁵⁸² The panels were originally divided by little gilt painted ionic colonettes. The fact that these are visible on the Palladia scene helps those who argue for all eight episodes being included. Baldini, *Mostra delle Opere di Fra Angelico*, 65-69.

Damian without the miracle of the black leg and thus it seems likely they are to be included.

The detail and sophistication of the scenes in comparison to the Annalena predella are used to support the theory that San Marco was the later altarpiece and that it was painted by the artist himself rather than by his workshop. This is a debatable position, what is not up for debate is the fact that the story telling is greatly expanded including much more narrative detail. For example, in the episode about Palladia, both the healing and the resulting gift of gratitude are illustrated. This expands the story telling from the Annalena panels, which excludes the miracle that led to Damian accepting a gift from Palladia. The increased level of detail is in fact unique in its attention to detail and accuracy of relating the narrative. It could indicate a further attempt at rendering the legend by the same artist. It could also indicate more input from Fra Angelico himself, revealing a better understanding of the story by artist and designer.

When the saints and their brothers are brought before Lysias, it is clear that the moment represented is when Lysias is asking them to sacrifice to an idol. Lysias gestures to the classical statue, clearly visible on a column in a niche to the right of the picture. Lysias and his henchmen are dressed in more exotic clothing, giving the image an eastern atmosphere not apparent in the Annalena picture. Lysias now has a long beard and a tall eastern-style hat, perhaps reflecting Fra Angelico's recent exposure to the delegation of the Eastern Church present at the

Council of Florence in 1438-1439, an event that was also significant to Cosimo.⁵⁸³

In the third scene clever use of continuous narrative allows Angelico to include a whole other episode from the legend. As in the Annalena predella, the story of the five brothers being thrown into the sea and subsequently rescued by an angel is portrayed. However, rather than being the focus of the picture, this event has been pushed into the background. The foreground, skilfully separated from the rest of the picture by a shoulder-height wall, is reserved for the dramatic image of Lysias being struck in the face by two demons. Cosmas, Damian and their brothers are shown kneeling in prayer trying to rid Lysias of the demons.

As in the main panel, the San Marco predella images also reflect a great virtuosity of composition, particularly in terms of the handling of space. The action takes place in naturalistic spaces, clearly defined with a consistent system of linear perspective. This is particularly evident in the burial scene in which Damian is brought in to be buried with his brothers following the miraculous words of the camel which are painted on the panel: NOLITE EOS SEPA(RAR)E A SEPULTRA / QVIA NO(N) SV(N)T SEPA(RA)TI A MERIT(IS). Here the foreshortened grave is perfectly integrated into the complex architecture of the city. In the scenes with landscapes he uses a flat plane parallel to the front of the

⁵⁸³The hats and long robes are worn elsewhere in San Marco frescoes: Adoration of Magi, cell 39 and Presentation in the Temple, cell 10. Lysias' hat is the same as those worn by many of John VII's entourage in Filarete's bronze doors from St. Peter's in Rome, 1445. Roberto Weiss, *Pisanello's Medallion of the Emperor John VII Palaeologus*, (London, 1966). Greek archbishops wore long robes, beards in Greek style and their black cylindrical hats. Secular officials had long robes with cummerbunds and high drooping hats. Joseph Gill, *The Council of Florence*, (Cambridge, 1959) 110.

painting to help define the depth of the space and to provide a conclusion for the foreground in which the action takes place. In the crucifixion this is a wall, above which the two martyrs are silhouetted against the sky. The five cypresses in the decapitation act in the same way as well as echoing the five brothers martyred in the scene.⁵⁸⁴

William Hood argues that the predella was designed to emphasize the Dominican message so important in the main panel and that although the inclusion of Cosmas and Damian was necessary because of the patronage, Angelico also wanted to incorporate their story into his Dominican theme by highlighting the saints' heroic virtues rather than their heroic deeds.⁵⁸⁵ Hood believes the emphasis on virtue rather than deed can be seen when Fra Angelico's two cycles are compared to an almost contemporary Sienese example of a predella of the life of Cosmas and Damian.

The altarpiece in question is the one painted by Sano di Pietro in the late 1440s, that was intended for the Oratory of the Gesutai in Siena discussed in the previous chapter (Figure 74 and Figure 75).⁵⁸⁶ Hood describes Sano as beginning the story with Cosmas and Damian before Lysias, and then including three martyrdom scenes: the fire, the crucifixion and the final decapitation. The six episode series ends with two panels dedicated to the posthumous miracle of the

⁵⁸⁴ Pope Hennessy writes this is the summit of spatial sophistication achieved in his pre-Roman works. Pope-Hennessy, *Fra Angelico*, 26. Cornelia Syre point out that at this time only the reliefs of Ghiberti are comparable in clear order of space and narrative variety. Syre, *Fra Angelico*, 34.

⁵⁸⁵ Hood, *Fra Angelico at San Marco*, 100, 115.

⁵⁸⁶ Paid for in 1446. Siena Pinacoteca 233, 216x247 cm. Pietro Torriti, *La Pinacoteca Nazionale di Siena*, 284-286.

black leg (Figure 76 and Figure 77). Hood points out that throughout only Cosmas and Damian are included, leaving out their three brothers.

Angelico on the other hand, he explains, includes the story of the healing of Palladia in both cycles to emphasize the saints healing without payment. However, the Dominican message is made even more explicit by including the healing as well as the payment in the San Marco predella. Including the episode of the brothers praying to rid Lysias of demons in the San Marco predella demonstrates the power of faith over evil and echoes the biblical text in the main panel where Jesus gives the disciples power over unclean spirits. The narrative ends as it began with a miraculous healing, demonstrating how their holiness in life allowed them to be miracle-workers after death.⁵⁸⁷

Thus Hood reasons, at San Marco Fra Angelico emphasized what he found common in the story of Cosmas and Damian and in the Dominican virtues. The ideas of voluntary poverty, charity, zeal in preaching, power over demonic spirits, prodigious faith and miraculous powers over nature. By always showing Cosmas and Damian in front of their brothers, they appear as examples, models of Dominican injunction to teach by word and example. Finally, by dividing the story according to the short readings from the Dominican breviary, Angelico presents the tale in the only liturgical formula applicable to a narrative on a Dominican high altarpiece, the readings for the matins of the feast.⁵⁸⁸ He suggests

⁵⁸⁷ Hood, *Fra Angelico at San Marco*, 113-114.

⁵⁸⁸ Hood, *Fra Angelico at San Marco*, 112-114.

that perhaps some of the differences were because Sano di Pietro was a layman and had to read and understand the text for himself.

There are some problems with this interpretation of the predella scenes. First of all, as discussed above, it seems that Angelico did not follow the readings in the Dominican breviary in choosing and presenting the episodes. Second, this interpretation is actually wrong in its description of the predella by Sano di Pietro and unfair in questioning his ability to relate the legend. In fact Sano does include the three brothers of SS. Cosmas and Damian as called for in the *Golden Legend*, as they are also included in the earlier predella panels by Mariotto di Nardo described above (Figure 101 and Figure 102). In the Mariotto di Nardo panels the brothers have the same watchful, respectful attitude they have in the Angelico predelle.⁵⁸⁹ It is thus hard to presume the brothers are included to enhance a specifically Dominican idea about teaching by example. The role of saints as models of faith and behaviour was not limited to the Dominicans and the brothers are clearly called for in the legends of the day, a fact that was recognized by artists other than Angelico.

Further Sano does actually include the episode of demonic possession (rather than the scene of the saints being put in the fire as described by Hood). He portrays the moment when Lysias is attacked by a demon along with the next part of the narrative, when Cosmas and Damian and their brothers are thrown in the sea and miraculously rescued by an angel. This is the same way Fra Angelico

⁵⁸⁹ In the Taddeo di Bartolo panel, which represents only the stoning of SS. Cosmas and Damian, the brothers not be included. This is in accordance with the legend that describes the brothers being brought out for the shooting of arrows specifically.

combined the two parts of the story in the San Marco altarpiece, perhaps indicating Sano was aware of Angelico's design, but Sano gives the two episodes equal priority whereas Angelico does clearly emphasize the demonic attack.

Sano does indeed devote a full third of his six-part narrative to the miracle of the black leg. This choice may have been less to do with an emphasis on 'spectacular deeds' and more to do with the fact that the work had a medical connection. As was discussed in Chapter three, the money for the altarpiece, intended for the Oratory of the Gesuati in Siena, seems almost certainly to be that donated in 1446 by a doctor called Francesco da Gubbio. The doctor was a member of the *Compagnia della Vergine* who administered the funds and carried out the commissioning of the work by Sano di Pietro.⁵⁹⁰ In the altarpiece SS. Cosmas and Damian appear prominently in the main panel on either side of the Virgin and Child as well as being the sole subjects of the predella scenes. The Gesuati were dedicated to caring for the sick and do include SS. Cosmas and Damian in some altarpieces such as in the painting for the high altar of San Girolamo, but they are present in the pinnacles only and the predella is devoted to St. Jerome (Figure 78).⁵⁹¹ The prominence they achieve in the altarpiece for the Oratory of the Gesuati as well as the emphasis placed on the miracle of the black leg must be a result of the patronage of a physician. The miracle of the black leg

⁵⁹⁰ Gaudenz Freuler, "Sienese Quattrocento Painting in the Service of Spiritual Propaganda," in Eve Borsook and Fiorella Superbi Gioffredi, ed. *Italian Altarpieces 1250-1550: Function and Design* (Oxford: 1994) 81-98.

⁵⁹¹ Siena 246, approx. 320 x 282cm including original frame. Commissioned 1439, signed and dated 1444. The predella, in the Louvre, depicts scenes from the life of S. Jerome (1128, 1130, 1132) Pietro Torriti, *La Pinacoteca Nazionale di Siena*, 254.

is the most recognizable and important of the saints' miracles and is completely intertwined with their identity as practicing physicians, which in turn is the aspect of their cult that appealed to contemporary doctors. Sano di Pietro's emphasis was more likely a response to the interests of his patron rather than difficulty in understanding the text or a choice to highlight heroic deeds over heroic virtues.

Rather than solely trying to impose a Dominican theme on the narrative through the selection of stories it seems that accurate and comprehensive storytelling were likely the motivating factors behind Angelico's choice of events. Within this framework, he could then emphasize parts of the story that were important to Dominican theology. For example Fra Angelico does highlight the episode of demonic possession and it cannot be coincidence that the biblical passage in the main panel is Christ's directive about teaching, important to the Dominicans, that includes casting out devils. Yet his inclusion of the three brothers of the doctors is less likely to be due to the Dominican emphasis on teaching and more likely to be due to their presence in the legend. The inclusion of the brothers is not exclusive to Angelico or to a Dominican context, as they were in the earlier example by Mariotto di Nardo and the slightly later example by Sano di Pietro.

Angelico's careful portrayal of the detail of the narrative as found in the *Golden Legend* must have been influenced by the ideas of Antonino Pierozzi, who became prior of San Marco in 1436.⁵⁹² Saint Antonino was concerned about

⁵⁹² Angelico had become a Dominican under the direction of Fra Antonino, prior of Fiesole 1422-24. Orlandi, *Beato Angelico*, 20-21.

the propriety of religious painting, and particularly emphasized the accurate representation of the text when relating the legends of saints.⁵⁹³ Through Angelico's very careful attention to detail and accuracy in interpreting the legend as he knew it he created a *vita* in images and he was able to communicate a message appropriate to the Order as well satisfying the requirements of the patron.

It is very likely that this idea of accuracy would have been important to Cosimo as well. Cosimo had at least one separate *vita* of SS. Cosmas and Damian in his study as well as owning more comprehensive collections of *vitae sanctorum* including the *Golden Legend*.⁵⁹⁴ The role of the lives of saints as *exempla* was appreciated by patrons such as Cosimo de' Medici.⁵⁹⁵ This was noted by Antonio degli Agli in his preface to his *vita* of SS. Cosmas and Damian that he dedicated to Cosimo de' Medici.⁵⁹⁶ Writing before 1455 he reiterates to Cosimo the usefulness of the tale of the life and martyrdom of the saints at the

⁵⁹³ Instructions to painters from his *Summa Theologica* written after he became archbishop 1446, see Creighton Gilbert, "The Archbishop on the Painters of Florence," *Art Bulletin* 41, (1959) 75-89.

⁵⁹⁴ For example according to a 1499/1500 catalogue of the Library at San Marco, there was a life of saints that had belonged to Cosimo as well as a *Golden Legend* from Cosimo. Banco 32, cod.5 *Legendae sanctorum fratris Iacobi de Voragine*, Naz. C. S. 1, 1, 24. From Cosimo with Illuminated initials. Berthold L. Ullman and Philip A. Stadter, *The Public Library of Renaissance Florence: Niccolò Niccoli, Cosimo de' Medici and the Library of San Marco*, (Padua, 1972) 245-246. P.O. Kristeller, *Iter Italicum: a finding list of uncatalogued or incompletely catalogued humanistic manuscripts of the Renaissance in Italian and other libraries 1, Italy: Agrigento to Novara*, (London, 1963) 163-4. For the *vita* see Spallanzani, *Inventari Medicei*, 22 and De La Mare, "Cosimo and his Books," 126.

⁵⁹⁵ An example which makes clear this idea is that of Francesco Diedo, serving as capitano of Brescia at a time of plague in 1478. Francesco promised to honour S. Roch through architecture and through the writing of a *historia*, in exchange for his help. Francesco Diedo's *historia* was to be written, "so that by his example we may draw others to a right and blessed life." Frazier, *Italian Humanists as Authors of vitae sanctorum*, 173-174.

⁵⁹⁶ Antonio degli Agli was appointed by Giovanni di Bicci as the first rector of the canonry of SS. Cosmas and Damian at S. Lorenzo. D. Kent, *Cosimo de' Medici*, 107.

time in both men's lives when they were beginning to turn from active living to the contemplation of their own mortality.⁵⁹⁷

On this point of contemplation of spiritual matters, Cosimo is thought to have had two rooms in the convent set aside for use as a private retreat. The rooms known as Cosimo's cell were also described in the Lapaccini chronicle when Eugenius IV stayed in them the night before the consecration of the main altar in 1443.⁵⁹⁸ Such a private space would be highly unusual in a Dominican convent, and its presence does reflect the dominance of Cosimo's patronage at San Marco and yet it is not unheard of in contemporary patronage as Nicola Acciaiuoli has rooms in the Cistercian monastery he had built at Certosa.⁵⁹⁹ Cosimo's interest in a space for prayer and contemplation is echoed later in the room he had reserved for himself at the Badia in Fiesole as well.⁶⁰⁰

In the inner room is the fresco of the *Adoration of the Magi* by Benozzo Gozzoli. In the adjoining outer room there is a fresco of *Jesus Consigning his Mother to Saint John* (Figure 113). In this work, which is not believed to have painted by Angelico himself, S. Cosmas and Peter Martyr join Mary and John the Evangelist at the foot of the cross. Written on the fresco are the words, "MULIER

⁵⁹⁷ The preface forms part of a draft manuscript of *De vitis et gestis sanctorum I-VII* written during the pontificate of Nicholas V (1447-1455) Florence BN, MS Nuovi acq. 399, fols 280v-286v. Frazier, *Possible Lives*, 96, 334-335 and *Italian Humanists as Authors of vitae sanctorum*, 589-592.

⁵⁹⁸ "Qui summus Pontifex, ad consolationem fratrum et civium in eodem conventu, remansit tota die et similiter pernoctavit atque dormivit in prima cella quae respicit claustrum secundum, quae dicitur adhuc cella Cosmae." Morçay, "La Cronaca del convento fiorentino di San Marco" 17.

⁵⁹⁹ Cells 38 and 39. Hood, *Fra Angelico at San Marco*, 240-252. Beissel, *Fra Angelico*, 48. Dale Kent points out that Nicola Acciaiuoli had rooms at Certosa. D. Kent, *Cosimo de' Medici*, 153. The Cistercian monastery of Certosa was built by Acciaiuoli in the fourteenth century and is contiguous to the Acciaiuoli palace just outside of Florence.

⁶⁰⁰ D. Kent, *Cosimo de' Medici*, 212-213 also Gombrich. "The Early Medici as Patrons of Art," 295.

ECCE FILIUS TUUS, ECCE FILIUS TU” taken from the gospel of St. John when Christ entrusts the care of his mother to John.⁶⁰¹

The repetition of the second part of the phrase deviates from the biblical text, as is noted by Francis Ames-Lewis who considers this to be part of a strong dynastic message in the fresco based on the understanding that patron saints acted as direct representatives for individual family members. He believes the words of Christ are directed toward S. Cosmas or Cosimo de’Medici who is intended to be understood as the ‘filius tuus’ of the inscription. Cosmas looks to Christ recognizing and accepting the message and the Virgin’s gesture further nominates Piero and Giovanni in the guises of their patron saints John the Evangelist and Peter Martyr as *fili tui* to Cosimo. John the Evangelist in this case must be Giovanni di Cosimo rather than Giovanni di Bicci in order for the message of dynastic continuity to make sense.⁶⁰²

The image is enigmatic and has been subject to a number of different interpretations, nonetheless the context would seem to favour a devotional reading rather than a political one. The fresco certainly is an aid to contemplative or meditative prayer demonstrated through the gazes of the three male figures who reflect on the cross. Mary looks to the viewer and indicates her son with a gesture at once demonstrating the object of prayer and indicating herself as

⁶⁰¹ John 19: 26-27: cum vidisset ergo Iesus matrem et discipulum stantem quem diligebat dicit matri suae mulier ecce filius tuus, deinde dicit discipulo ecce mater tua et ex illa hora accepit eam discipulus in sua.

⁶⁰² Ames-Lewis, “Art in the Service of the Family” 213-214.

mediatrix between viewer and God. It is not a narrative image; the figures present are the patron saints of Cosimo de' Medici and his two sons making it a deeply personal work as well.⁶⁰³ The presence of these saints, the gesture of Mary and the repetition of the words 'Ecce filius tuus' seems also likely to indicate the idea of Cosmas consigning his sons to the care of the Virgin.

Another point that must be emphasized in connection to this image is the extremely rare appearance of S. Cosmas alone. While it seems clear that the two doctor saints functioned as protectors of the Medici family, and by extension protectors of Cosimo as the head of that family, it seems that Cosimo did feel a particular bond with his name saint in particular. In the fresco the costume worn by S. Cosmas is consistent with Angelico's costume in the high altarpiece in the church and the facial type is closest to the 'portrait' type seen in the San Marco altarpiece as well.

Although they do not appear in the devotional frescoes that adorn the individual cells at the convent, SS. Cosmas and Damian do appear in one unusual fresco intended only for the brethren. It is the *Madonna and Child with Eight Saints*, also known as the *Madonna of the Shadows*, in the east corridor of the dormitory between cells 25 and 26 likely from the 1450s (Figure 114).⁶⁰⁴ The painting is arranged as a frescoed interpretation of an altarpiece and it was completed in tempera allowing for particularly rich colours. The Madonna and

⁶⁰³ John the Evangelist was also patron to Cosimo's dead father Giovanni di Bicci de' Medici.

⁶⁰⁴ It could be from the early 1450s, the same time as the Annunciation in the upper corridor. Pope-Hennessy, *Fra Angelico*, 33-34. William Hood also dates it to around 1450. Hood, *Fra Angelico at San Marco*, 260.

Child sit in the centre on a raised throne with two groups of four saints on either side, all before a rather austere classicising architectural backdrop. To the left of the Madonna are the patrons of the convent and the order, SS. Mark, Cosmas, Damian and Dominic. On the other side are SS. John the Evangelist, Lawrence and Peter Martyr. Behind them stands Saint Thomas Aquinas who looks over their shoulders to the Virgin and Child. Here, as in the high altarpiece, the Medici patrons appear along with the saints of the order however the composition is more traditional and SS. Cosmas and Damian are not foregrounded in the same way as they are in the altarpiece. The image has less of an ornate courtly feel, with the courtier angels absent and SS. Cosmas and Damian in particular appearing as a younger type with much more subdued costume than found elsewhere at San Marco. The most notable difference is the absence of fur lining of the cloaks that is normally conspicuously displayed.

The fresco suggests some obvious subjects for thought and meditation aside from the central mystery of the Incarnation. Dominic looks out to the beholder and points with his finger to the text in the open book in his hand. What is written is a very harsh admonition, attributed to him, against the ownership of property by members of his Order: “Have charity; preserve humility; possess voluntary poverty. I invoke God’s curse and mine on the introduction of possessions into this order.”⁶⁰⁵ As this fresco is in the dormitory area of the convent, the message is directed exclusively to the friars. The inherent tension created between the generosity of patrons such as Cosimo de’Medici and the

⁶⁰⁵ Beissel, *Fra Angelico*, 50.

ideal of poverty subscribed to by the Dominicans and particularly the Observant Dominicans must have been often in the minds of the inhabitants of the convent.⁶⁰⁶ In fact the constitutions of the Order even called for humility and simplicity in architecture, a directive contravened by the building itself covered in the patrons' familial symbols.⁶⁰⁷

The final appearance of SS. Cosmas and Damian at San Marco is in the great fresco of the *Crucifixion* in the Chapter Room where the patron saints are incorporated into the larger programme (Figure 115). Including symbols of the patron is not particularly unusual in chapter room decoration and in this case the presence of the family saints is augmented by the use of the *palle* to decorate the ornamental stones at the springing of the arches that form the ceiling vault.⁶⁰⁸ Here SS. Cosmas, Damian and Lawrence form part of a group that also includes S. Mark, patron of the convent and S. John the Baptist patron of the city of Florence. SS. Cosmas and Damian appear in the same blue robes and magenta fur-lined cloaks as in the San Marco altarpiece. They have no hats or attributes. The saint closest to the crucifixion, which is most likely to be Cosmas, turns to contemplate the event while the second saint turns away burying his head in his

⁶⁰⁶ D. Kent, *Cosimo de' Medici*, 150-151. Hood, *Fra Angelico at San Marco*, 260. Beissel, *Fra Angelico*, 50.

⁶⁰⁷ In the constitutions of 1228 and reiterated in 1358. Julian Gardner, "Andrea di Bonaiuto and the Chapterhouse Frescoes in Santa Maria Novella" *Art History* 2 (1979) 107-138, 114.

⁶⁰⁸ In some cases chapter rooms also functioned as family chapels, burial chapels and donor figures, coats of arms, etc. do not seem particularly unusual in this context. See *Santa Maria Novella*, also burial chapel for the Guildalotti or patron's dominance of iconography at Pazzi Chapel at Santa Croce where the chapel and its altar are dedicated to S. Andrew name saint of Andrea Pazzi. Heidrun Stein-Kecks, *Der Kapitelsaal in der mittelalterlichen Klosterbaukunst. Studien zu den Bildprogrammen* (Berlin, 2004) 177-180. The chapter room at Santa Maria Novella also served as a burial chapel for the Guidalotti, Julian Gardner, "Andrea di Bonaiuto and the chapterhouse frescoes in Santa Maria Novella," 107-138.

hands. Rather unusually Cosmas is portrayed much older than Damian with grey receding hair and a grey beard.

The group of patrons appear to the far left of the central Crucifixion of Christ and the two thieves. Below the cross is a group of figures made up of the biblical witnesses to the Crucifixion: the Virgin Mary who collapses into the arms of Mary Magdalen, Mary Cleophas and John the Evangelist, who is also name saint to members of the Medici family named Giovanni. To the right of the cross is a much larger group made up of representatives of the greater order, the founders and renewers of monastic and mendicant movements, led by Dominic who kneels in prayer at the foot of the cross. Standing to the left of him are Ambrose, Augustine, Benedict of Nursia and Romuald the Camaldolite. Kneeling in front of them are Jerome, Francis of Assisi, Bernard of Clairvaux and Gualberto of Vallombrosa.⁶⁰⁹ At the end are the important Dominican saints Thomas Aquinas and Peter Martyr, of course the latter was also patron to Cosimo's son Piero.

A decorative band around the edge of the image includes busts of prophets holding scrolls that proclaim the Crucifixion and Resurrection.⁶¹⁰ At the

⁶⁰⁹ Ambrose, Augustine and Jerome are present as church fathers and fathers of monastic life. Augustine, whose rule was accepted by the Dominicans, is shown in the robes of a hermit with a bishop's mitre. Jerome, in his white penitential robe, is present as patron of several congregations including Jesuits and various Hieronymites but specifically the Hieronymites of Fiesole just founded in 1441. S. Ambrose was patron to a monastic community formed after his lifetime, in 1441 the disparate communities attached to his name were combined into one group, *S. Ambrose Mediolanensis*. Ambrose was also meant to have founded S. Lorenzo. Stein-Kecks, *Der Kapitelsaal in der mittelalterlichen Klosterbaukunst*, 248-250.

⁶¹⁰ Many of the texts are taken from Dionysius the Pseudo-Areopagite who may appear at the bottom left, although he is not securely identified. The figures also include OT prophets and

very top a pelican is depicted feeding her young from the blood of her own breast. Below the Crucifixion are a series of *tondi* with portraits of important members of the Dominican Order including the blessed of the order as well as Cardinals, theological fathers, and masters general. Dominic appears for a second time in the centre of this group and holds two branches that stretch out to either side like a family tree.

The fresco, painted in 1441/1442, is the only decoration in the Chapter Room and the iconographic programme fulfils a number of functions.⁶¹¹ The saints that surround the Crucifixion react to the event with different gestures and expressions, seemingly isolated but also reacting to the viewer and one another. They provide a variety of models of *compassio*, inviting the viewer, mainly the brethren in this case, into a meditative absorption in the sacrificial death of Christ and ensuing Salvation of mankind.⁶¹² There is also an emphasis on the penitential nature of the image as the room was used for the Dominican Chapter of Faults,

sybils. Above the cross INRI in Latin, Greek and Hebrew. Stein-Kecks, *Der Kapitelsaal in der mittelalterlichen Klosterbaukunst*, 245-249.

⁶¹¹ Although the Chapter Room temporarily housed the Confraternity of Santa Re Magi, it was not for a very long time as the confraternity was large (700 members) and had dedicated premises built in the new cloister by 1467. Stein-Kecks, *Der Kapitelsaal in der mittelalterlichen Klosterbaukunst*, 247-248.

⁶¹² Particularly evident in the group of Maries under the cross whose composition echoes that of the Crucifixion. Michaela Marek, "Ordenspolitik und Andacht. Fra Angelicos Kreuzigungsfresko im Kapitelsaal von San Marco zu Florenz" *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 48, (1985) 451-475. Some of the compositional elements such as the variety of poses and gestures have also been recognized as a response to Alberti, see above. Stein-Kecks, *Der Kapitelsaal in der mittelalterlichen Klosterbaukunst*, 249.

performed daily in the chapter room.⁶¹³ In this context the cross represents the promise of salvation from guilt and the hope of resurrection and eternal life.⁶¹⁴

The image also conveys a message of tolerance and unity in its unusual portrayal of so many different (and often competing) founders and renewers of monasticism and the orders. Michaela Marek connects it to the council of Florence in 1439, also important to Cosimo in which the Dominicans provided leadership in the role of the orders as defenders of the Papacy.⁶¹⁵ As Heidrun Stein-Kecks explains, further explanation of this iconography can be sought in the writings of Antonino Pierozzi, prior of the convent, close to Cosimo, and a major influence on the devotional content of the commissions at San Marco. In *De statu religiosorum* Antonino describes the different orders and their respective rules as well as reform movements within the orders and the role of Eugenius IV in reforming and reorganising monastic life. The Franciscan rule was discussed in particular with emphasis on their vow of poverty as well as their adoption of the position as follower of Evangelists.⁶¹⁶ Stein-Kecks describes the figures as “a homogeneous group representing a monastically defined church militant or

⁶¹³ Antonino wrote, “Similiter capitulum quotidianum dicitur capitulum de culpis.” Stein-Kecks, *Der Kapitelsaal in der mittelalterlichen Klosterbaukunst*, 251.

⁶¹⁴ In Antonino’s explanation of how to conduct themselves in the chapter room he advises the brethren to imitate the demeanour of Christ in front of the judge. He writes they should prepare themselves, “...with lowered eyes, serene countenance, in silence and open to the reproach, prepared to bear the blow.” Stein-Kecks further points out Antonino’s dependence on monastic reform movements of the eleventh and twelfth centuries in this matter, particularly references to Humbert of Romans. Stein-Kecks, *Der Kapitelsaal in der mittelalterlichen Klosterbaukunst*, 251.

⁶¹⁵ Marek, “Ordenspolitik und Andacht,” 451-475. Stein-Kecks, *Der Kapitelsaal in der mittelalterlichen Klosterbaukunst*, 250-251.

⁶¹⁶ He refers to Augustinians, Benedictines, Franciscans, Armenian Basilians. Sancti Antonini, *Summa Theologica, De statu religiosorum* quoted in Stein-Kecks, *Der Kapitelsaal in der mittelalterlichen Klosterbaukunst*, 251.

ecclesia militans, facing the specific patrons and directly in front of the witnesses of the Passion of Christ.”⁶¹⁷

After the work was done at San Marco, the pope, Eugenius IV, issued a bull describing the result of Cosimo’s patronage of the convent. The opening lines were carved on the lintel to the sacristy door at San Marco declaring Cosimo's absolution as a result of the gift.⁶¹⁸ As well as having benefited from donating a considerable sum of money toward the foundation of an Observant house, one can only imagine that a significant aspect of the success of this project for Cosimo was the elevation of his patrons to joint titular saints of the high altar. The comprehensive nature of his patronage further allowed for the placing of SS. Cosmas and Damian in numerous different positions throughout the convent, including the main altarpiece.⁶¹⁹

Part 4: Santa Croce

Medici intervention at the Franciscan church of Santa Croce in Florence also inserted the family patron saints into an environment in which there was no previous record of their worship. It was sometime before 1439 that Cosimo de’Medici gave money to the church of Santa Croce for the establishment of a

⁶¹⁷ She points to a concentration of symbols around the cross relating to the truth of the church as well as the origins and succession of monastic life. The Cross was the first image in chapter rooms and matches the renewed meaning of the daily chapter that was emphasized in Dominican observance. Stein-Kecks, *Der Kapitelsaal in der mittelalterlichen Klosterbaukunst*, 251.

⁶¹⁸ CUM HOC TEMPLUM MARCO EVANGELISTE DICATUM MAGNIFICIS SUMPTIBUS CL. V. COSMI DE MEDICIS TANDEM ABSOLUTUM ESSET.

⁶¹⁹ Dale Kent points out the benefit of having images of the saints of the patron appear repeatedly in front of the religious emphasizing his claim on their ‘spiritual services’ and keeping him and his family in their prayers. D. Kent, *Cosimo de’Medici*, 150.

chapel for the Novices dedicated to SS. Cosmas and Damian. The *sepoltuario* of the convent of 1439 describes, "The chapel that is at the entrance to the dormitory of the novices and dedicated to SS. Cosmas and Damian; Cosimo de'Medici had the dormitory, chapel and the entrance next to the sacristy made."⁶²⁰ The building of the chapel was one of several projects going on at Santa Croce, the dormitory of which had been destroyed by fire in 1423.⁶²¹ In fact the use of the words 'fece fare' combined with a late sixteenth century list of chapels that reads, "The chapel of the Novices is dedicated to SS. Cosmas and Damian, was founded by Giovanni Piccarda de'Medici" seems to indicate that the work at Santa Croce may have been initiated by Giovanni di Bicci in the 1420s and taken over by his son in the 1430s.⁶²² The reason behind the Medici investment in Santa Croce remains the subject of speculation with some commentators believing the motives to be devotional and some political. The area of S. Croce had not traditionally been an area in which the Medici were active and in fact the patronage of the church was dominated by predominantly anti-Medicean families.⁶²³ As well as the patron

⁶²⁰ "La chapella che al entrare nel Dormitorio denovici e intitolata in sto cosma e Damiano fece fare cosime de medicj detto dormitorio e chapelle e Landito Innanzi alla sagrestia." MSS 619, c.iv published in Saalman, *Filippo Brunelleschi*, 224. By 1436 the new dormitory was substantially complete as well. D. Kent, *Cosimo de'Medici*, 201. See also Megan Holmes, *Fra Filippo Lippi: The Carmelite Painter* (New Haven, 1999) 191.

⁶²¹ Work was being done by Cosimo de'Medici, the Arte di Calamala, the Comune, Andrea Pazzi, Ferrara and Quinterio, *Michelozzo di Bartolomeo*, 200.

⁶²² "La Capella del Novitiato, è intitolata in st.i Cosimo e Damiano, fù fondata da Giovanni Piccarda de'Medici." The chapel as the initiative of Giovanni di Bicci is proposed by Howard Saalman who points out it may have commenced after the fire of 1423. Saalman, *Filippo Brunelleschi*, 227-228. ASF Conventi soppr. 92, f.175 c.4 r-v (1581-1611) published also in Jeffrey Ruda, *Fra Filippo Lippi*, (London, 1993) 415

⁶²³ Megan Holmes presents the Medici intervention at Santa Croce as 'an incursion of the Medici personal saints into an important civic religious space' pointing out that the quarter of S. Croce was dominated by anti-Medicean families like the Albizzi, Peruzzi, Castellani, Ricasoli and Gianfigliuzzi who were also patrons of the church. Around the same time the Medici invested in

saints, the family coat of arms, a more direct expression of family power, appears repeatedly around the chapel complex.

It is thought that by 1445 the chapel was mostly complete, this is based on Filippo Moisé's nineteenth-century account of a bell in the chapel with an inscription on it stating that Cosimo de' Medici had dedicated (the chapel at) Santa Croce of Florence, in the year 1445.⁶²⁴ Vasari explains in the sixteenth century that the chapel, as well as the entrance from the main body of the church and the stairs of the dormitory, was made to Michelozzo's design.⁶²⁵ General consensus agrees with Vasari as the chapel architecture is deemed to be in a Michelozzan style, and was probably designed or executed by Michelozzo who was working with Cosimo de' Medici on most of his building commissions by this time.⁶²⁶

The Medici patron saints appear prominently in the altarpiece, commissioned from Filippo Lippi and again in the stained glass window completed around the same time in the lunette on the altar wall above the altarpiece. This duplication of images of the patron saints would certainly keep

the church other allies were also becoming involved such as the Pazzi and the Benci. Holmes, *Fra Filippo Lippi*, 192. At the same time there were likely other reasons as well. Dale Kent mentions the idea of balancing the orders after all the money he had given to the Dominicans at San Marco. Also S. Croce had kept money safe for him when he was exiled in 1433 and he probably felt some sense of obligation. Most obviously it was a very important church and Cosimo likely wanted to be part of the larger civic project to renew it. S. Croce also kept the electoral bags used for communal elections. D. Kent, *Cosimo de' Medici*, 200-201

⁶²⁴ "Cosma de Medicis dedicavit Sancte Crucis de Florentia Ann. 1445." Filippo Moisé, *Santa Croce di Firenze: Illustrazione Storico-Artistica* (Florence, 1845) 163.

⁶²⁵ "Similmente fece far Cosimo col disegno di Michelozzo il noviziato di S. Croce di Firenze, la Capella del medesimo e l'entrata che va di chiesa alla sagrestia al detto noviziato et alle scale dormitorio." Rosanna Bettarini and Paola Borocchi, eds. Giorgio Vasari, *Le Vite III*, (Florence, 1971) 236.

⁶²⁶ Although they believe it likely, Ferrara and Quinterio do point out that Michelozzo's authorship is not unequivocal and Michelozzo could have had an indirect influence on the building rather than a direct one. Ferrara and Quinterio, *Michelozzo di Bartolomeo*, 200-204.

them firmly in the minds of the novices. In the window, SS. Cosmas and Damian are dressed in fur-trimmed robes and cloaks in alternating red and magenta colours with green accents. They also wear the more traditional long berets with fur round the brim. The window is generally accepted to be by an artist close to Castagno and is dated to ca.1445.⁶²⁷

In the chapel the novices were required to sing a Mass for the benefit of Cosimo. The original terms were laid down in a papal bull that no longer survives, but a 1457 letter from Fra Giacomo da Mozzanica, the Minister General of the Franciscans, explains the agreed obligations of the community to the patron. In gratitude for the works undertaken by Cosimo de' Medici the Novices were to sing a mass each morning at dawn in the chapel of SS. Cosmas and Damian in honour of the Virgin. Once a week the mass was to be sung by an ordained friar, without errors and was to include a commemoration of SS. Cosmas and Damian.⁶²⁸ The requirement to sing a mass for Cosimo's soul remains in a late sixteenth-century list of liturgical obligations in the chapels of the church, "In the chapel of Cosimo di Giovanni piccaarda de Medici Vecchio

⁶²⁷ Alison Luchs, "Stained Glass above Renaissance Altars: Figural Windows in Italian Church Architecture from Brunelleschi to Bramante" *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 48, (1985) 177-224. Ruth Kennedy suggests the window may be an early work in glass by Baldovinetti based on positions and expressions of the figures and the arrangement of the colours in an alternating scheme of red and violet, a technique Baldovinetti uses. Ruth Wedgwood Kennedy, *Alessandro Baldovinetti. A Critical & Historical Study*, (New Haven, 1938) 42-43.

⁶²⁸ "Cum accepterim a fide dignis qualiter completo, et ad finem deducto loco gratissimo pro conservatione et tutela novitiorum dicti nostri Florentini conventus, grata convenientia [facta] fuit inter fratres et virum clarissimum Cosmam de Medicis pro aliquali satisfactione, seu retributione tanti beneficii et domicilii erectione, ut omni mane in aurora cantetur missa in capella sanctorum martyrum Cosmae et Damiani ob reverentiam Virginis gloriosae Mariae, Matris Christi, per ipsos novitios; et quod deberet poni in tabula in qualibet hebdomada unus frater sacerdos, qui praefatam missam debeat cantare sine defectu, et commemorationem facere de SS. Martyribus iam dictis Cosma et Damiano." S. Mencherini, *Santa Croce di Firenze: memorie e documenti*, (Florence, 1929) 7-8.

the place of the Novices, they must sing a mass to the Virgin every Saturday for the soul of Cosimo..."⁶²⁹

The altarpiece, the *Madonna and Child Enthroned with SS. Francis, Damian, Cosmas and Anthony of Padua* by Filippo Lippi, is generally dated to the mid 1440s (Figure 116).⁶³⁰ Both the main panel by Filippo and its predella by Pesellino were recorded as still being in the chapel in 1510 by Francesco Albertini.⁶³¹ The Virgin and Child sit on a raised throne which projects outward from an architectural structure that fills the entire panel. The Incarnation imagery inherent in any image of the Mother and Child is augmented by the Christ Child who presents the exposed breast of his mother to the viewer, a *Madonna Lactans*, emphasizing the spiritual nourishment of the worshipper.⁶³² Megan Holmes suggests the *lactans* may have another dimension in this particular case with respect to the Novices, perhaps presenting the Virgin's milk as analogous to the guidance provided by an abbot to his monks.⁶³³ Jeffrey Ruda believes further

⁶²⁹ "Alla Cappella di Cosimo di Giovanni piccarda de Medici Vecchio posta nel nostro Noviziato li fratini ci hanno a cantare ogni sabata una Messa della V.a M.ra per l'anima di detto Cosimo come per il Breve appare nella nostra Opera o archivio vede il detto." ASF Conventi soppr. 92 f.362 c. 61r (1581-1611; Obblighi da farsi alle Cappelle poste nella nostra Chiesa di Sta Croce in Sagrestia, Noviziato...). Ruda, *Fra Filippo Lippi*, 415. Megan Holmes also mentions that the saints received an unofficial annual octave. Holmes, *Fra Filippo Lippi*, 194.

⁶³⁰ The main panel is in the Uffizi, it measures 196 x 196cm. *Gli Uffizi: Catalogo Generale* (Florence, 1979) 334, P875. Ruda is fairly certain of ca. 1445. Ruda, *Fra Filippo Lippi*, 414-416. Megan Holmes says definitely the earlier 1440s, 1440-1445. Holmes, *Fra Filippo Lippi*, 191.

⁶³¹ "Nel nouitiato costructo dal la casa de Medici e una tauola di fra Philip. et la predella di Francefco piselli." Francesco Albertini, *MEMORIALE DI MOLTE STATUE ET PICTURE. Facsimile dell'edizione originale stampata a Florentia MDX*, Odoardo Campa, ed. (Florence, 1932). The main panel has been in the Uffizi since 1919, n. 8354. Ruda, *Fra Filippo Lippi*, 414.

⁶³² Echoing Bernard of Clairvaux's vision in which he receives nourishment from Mary's breast milk. Eucharistic parallels can also be drawn between lactating and Christ's bleeding. See Caroline Walker Bynum, "The Body of Christ in the Later Middle Ages: A Reply to Leo Steinberg" *Renaissance Quarterly* 39 (1984) 399-439.

⁶³³ Holmes, *Fra Filippo Lippi*, 202-204.

Eucharistic emphasis can be found in the gaze of S. Cosmas who looks toward Christ's exposed penis, reminding the viewer of the child's circumcision, his first blood sacrifice.⁶³⁴ Whilst the exposed penis does recall the circumcision, the direction of the glance of S. Cosmas is not as certain.

SS. Cosmas and Damian appear on either side of the Virgin in a more privileged position than SS. Francis and Anthony of Padua, representatives of the Order. They are the titular saints of the chapel and both the family saints and personal name saints of the patron Cosimo de' Medici. The Medici influence is further visible in the *palle* that appear prominently on the entablature of the architectural background. Damian looks directly out of the painting and gestures to the Madonna and Child. It is surprising that Damian is to the Virgin's right, usually in situations where both saints appear Cosmas is in the more important position.⁶³⁵ Both medical saints are dressed in long blue robes with red cloaks over the top. They both have on a round red beret and each holds an oval medical box and pincers. The box held by Damian is open and compartments can be seen inside. Cosmas is slightly older than Damian and is a similar type to the 'portrait' type seen in the San Marco altarpiece.

Megan Holmes believes the way the attributes are presented function almost as a signature, she believes Cosmas holds his martyr's palm like a pen, as

⁶³⁴ Ruda, *Fra Filippo Lippi*, 168.

⁶³⁵ This is the reverse of most of the images examined thus far. If the saints are not identified it generally assumed Cosmas is the more important. See also Till Verellen's assumption about which is Cosmas and which is Damian in the New Sacristy at San Lorenzo, "Cosmas and Damian in the New Sacristy" *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 42 (1979) 274-277.

if he were writing symbolising his authorship and patronage.⁶³⁶ When looked at within the broader context of the iconography of SS. Cosmas and Damian it become clear that this is not the case. What is in S. Cosmas' hand is not a martyr's palm; it is a pair of pincers, the most common attributes held by the saints in central Italian paintings. The position of S. Cosmas' hand is not dissimilar to that in earlier examples of the iconography, in particular the 1429 panel by Bicci di Lorenzo that would have been in hanging the Duomo at the time (Figure 69). As in the panel of the *Seven Saints* (described below) Lippi presents the most popular attributes of the saints, the pincers and medical box that represent their secular profession.⁶³⁷

The predella by Pesellino may have been commissioned separately from the main altarpiece, but its inclusion in the description by Albertini seems to make certain its attribution (Figure 117).⁶³⁸ Further, the representation of the saints is consistent in costume and appearance with the main panel also indicating that the predella was intended to accompany the altarpiece. The predella includes a central Nativity and four scenes from the lives of the saints in the altarpiece: *St. Francis receiving the Stigmata*, SS. Cosmas and Damian's *Miracle of the Black Leg* (Figure 118), *Beheading of SS. Cosmas and Damian* and the *Miracle of*

⁶³⁶ Holmes, *Fra Filippo Lippi*, 195.

⁶³⁷ Lippi does use the palm in the Alessandri altarpiece in which SS. Cosmas and Damian appear on either side of S. Lawrence. Dated from mid 1440s to early 1450s. Ruda, *Fra Filippo Lippi*, 429.

⁶³⁸ It is 215cm wide. Pesellino was born in 1422 so he would have been very young to have painted it before 1442. Ruda, *Fra Filippo Lippi*, 416.

Anthony of Padua preaching at the Miser's Funeral.⁶³⁹ Pesellino's scene of the beheading of the saints does not include the three brothers of SS. Cosmas and Damian, and unusually portrays the moment just before either saint is killed. In the *Miracle of the Black Leg* the two saints are shown at the bedside of the ill churchman and one of the saints holds the black leg prior to the miraculous surgery.

Again there can be problems with the interpretation of such a predella in a strictly Medicean context without considering the existing iconography of SS. Cosmas and Damian. Dale Kent believes the content of the predella to be related specifically to Cosimo's personal culture and patronage. Cosmas and Damian are shown at moment of their martyrdom and shown healing Emperor Justinian. The healing would then recall the frequent references in popular literature to the Medici family as healers of Florence's political ills and evokes Justinian's image as the personification of classical and Christian traditions of law, justice and good government.⁶⁴⁰

This is implausible, the miracle of the black leg is not actually about Emperor Justinian, in most texts of the time, including the *Golden Legend*, the recipient of the miracle is described as a loyal servant of the church of SS. *Cosma e Damiano* in Rome. He is sometimes named as the Deacon Justinian but this

⁶³⁹ All are in the Uffizi with the main panel with the exception of the *Miracle of the Black Leg* and *S. Francis receiving the Stigmata* which are in the Louvre. *Gli Uffizi: Catalogo Generale*, 409, P1170; Lavergnée and Thiébaud, eds. *Catalogue sommaire illustré des peintures du musée du Louvre, II*, 217, INV. 418.

⁶⁴⁰ Kent believes the scenes from St. Anthony's life are also relevant. Anthony preaching at the Miser's funeral talks about wealth and the importance giving to charity. D. Kent, *Cosimo de' Medici*, 148

becomes more common in later centuries. It is difficult to determine the origin of the use of the name Justinian in the legend, but interestingly the author of the fourteenth-century Florentine manuscript in the Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana does identify himself as *Iustino Diacono* and includes another miracle in which he was saved. Perhaps the confluence of the name and the miracle is related to later version of this family of manuscripts, based on a version of the life authored by a man called Justinian.⁶⁴¹ To return to the point made by Dale Kent, the choice of scenes is unlikely to be a specific comment on the Medici family as these two scenes were the two most represented in the Life of SS. Cosmas and Damian and there were contemporary examples of them in Florence including the panel by Bicci di Lorenzo (Figure 69) mentioned above and the earlier offering by the Master of the Rinuccini Chapel (Figure 54).

Such a chapel, dedicated to SS. Cosmas and Damian, must have reminded the viewer of the Medici family within an environment that can be read as having been a less natural location for Medici patronage. One is mindful of Ernst Gombrich's statement that "patronage was indeed one of the chief instruments of Medici policy during the century when they had no legal title of authority." The images and buildings could remind viewers of the generosity of the family and their ability to help people in innumerable ways.⁶⁴² At the same time the spiritual benefit of such patronage is clear in the reciprocal arrangement with the church that required mass to be sung regularly for Cosimo and his family patron saints.

⁶⁴¹ BHL 1976 Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Pluteo 20, codice 8. VITA ET MIRACULA AUCT. IUSTINO DIAC. ORD. MIN.

⁶⁴² Gombrich, "The Early Medici as Patrons of Art," 280.

Part 5: Promoting the cult of SS. Cosmas and Damian

As has been demonstrated above the family did actively promote the association with the SS. Cosmas and Damian, through the inclusion of the saints in prominent paintings as well as building chapels and paying for services.⁶⁴³ They were also known to have a strong tradition of celebrating the feast day of the saints on September 27 both within Florence and elsewhere including at branches of the Medici bank throughout Europe.⁶⁴⁴ Richard Trexler describes this practice in Florence as a way of reinforcing the presence of the family in the city and explains that the popularity of celebrations of the feast of SS. Cosmas and Damian amongst citizens could act as an indicator of family status at any given

⁶⁴³ In 1429 Giovanni di Bicci requested first class rank for the feasts of SS. Cosmas and Damian and St. John the Evangelist at San Lorenzo. In 1430 the feast of SS. Cosmas and Damian and John the Evangelist offices were promoted to 5 soldi rank in order to honour Giovanni di Bicci's soul in 1430. McKillop, "Dante and Lumen Christi", 271-272; D. Kent, *Cosimo de' Medici*, 191. In 1429 Cosimo paid for annual sung masses on the feast day of SS. Cosmas and Damian at the Baptistery. "Cosimo de' Medici assegna fior. 200 di moneta picc. dell entrate di esse se ne faccia ogni anno la festa di S Cosmas e S Damiano." Robinson, *Cosimo de' Medici's Patronage of the Observantist Movement*, 100, 175 Document 6. Also Richard Trexler, *Public Life in Renaissance Florence*, 423, n.16. Cosimo endowed four feasts at San Marco, the Epiphany, St. Mark, SS. Cosmas and Damian, St. Peter Martyr. Paoletti, "Fraternal Piety and Family Power" 215, n.51.

⁶⁴⁴ Dale Kent suggests several letters that show the family devotion to the cult, for example one from Ser Alesso from Florence to Giovanni in 1438: "Piero e tu che trovandovi a Pisa e avendo qua la festa di San Cosimo in sabato ci tractasti molto bene, forse stimavate che di quella si facesse come di natale che si mangia della carne venendo in tal di gran facto fuse/so non mandasti nulla e sai che facemo una grande invitata come sai e usanza e la mattina più di un hora e mezo indugiamo il disinare dicendo stiamo a vedere se giungono aspecta il corbo..." MAP V 342. Shortly after Cosimo's death, Matteo di Ser Giovanni, the factor at Cafaggiolo, wrote to Piero at Careggi that he had just returned from Pistoia and "ho domandato il turcho si ssera ordinato nulla per la festa de santi Chosimo et Damiano la quel è giovedì che viene...se voi volesse si faciesse l'usato provederei domani il bisogno quello si suole dare loro e questo." Bread and wine were sent to the friars of Santa Croce and wine and silver to the frati of San Benedetto, a gift to the Armenian friars and a large offering of food and wax for a mass and vespers to San Marco. D. Kent, *Cosimo de' Medici*, 143, n.98. Richard Trexler explains the celebrations at bank branches were by "domestici e famigliari" Richard Trexler, *Public Life in Renaissance Florence*, 423, n.16.

time.⁶⁴⁵ There were in fact a number of attempts to go further than this and make the feast of SS. Cosmas and Damian an official communal feast. Dale Kent points out that 1456 there was a proposal considered by the *Consulte e Pratiche* for public celebrations of the feast day of SS. Cosmas and Damian, which was rejected and an earlier attempt that also did not succeed is referred to in a 1437 poem by Anselmo Calderoni, herald of the Signoria.⁶⁴⁶ In the verse the poet describes a visitation he had from SS. Cosmas and Damian whilst sleeping, in which the saints explain they wish "...that our feastday might be celebrated each year/ in Florence, free of all deceit./...As you know we are Cosmas and Damian,/ devoted to those brothers, so that we/ pray for them before the good Jesus Christ/ for their great merits throughout your land...".⁶⁴⁷ In fact it was not until the early sixteenth century, beyond the scope of this paper, that the political climate was such that the feast of SS. Cosmas and Damian was celebrated as a state event in Florence.⁶⁴⁸

Indeed the Medici promotion of their patron saints extended beyond such high profile examples as those discussed above and beyond the geographic boundaries of Florence itself. A first instance can be found close to home in the

⁶⁴⁵ The cult of the Magi, also associated with the Medici, functioned similarly. Trexler, *Public Life in Renaissance Florence*, 422-423. Also Diana Webb, *Patrons and Defenders: The Saints in the Italian City-States* (London, 1996) 236.

⁶⁴⁶ D. Kent, *Cosimo de' Medici*, 143. Richard Trexler explains that opposition to the establishment of these celebrations was due to the fact that Florentine feasts were meant to celebrate public victories not private events. Trexler, *Public Life in Renaissance Florence*, 423.

⁶⁴⁷ Anselmo Calderoni is discussing the attempt to celebrate the Medici return from exile on the day of SS. Cosmas and Damian. The celebration was decreed for the feast of St. Thomas in 1435. Kent also points out that the tone of the poem is ambiguous as some of it is not entirely pro-Medici. D. Kent, *Cosimo de' Medici*, 118-119.

⁶⁴⁸ By the time of Lorenzo the Magnificent's son Giuliano (Pope Leo X) there was no fear of arrogance and on September 27, 1513 a formal procession went to San Lorenzo followed by the signoria. Richard Trexler, *Public Life in Renaissance Florence*, 505.

altarpiece painted by Fra Angelico that was commissioned by the Medici was for the church at the Observant Franciscan convent of Bosco ai Frati in the Mugello. This foundation was near the Medici villas at Cafaggiolo and Trebbio in an area in which the family were the largest landholders.⁶⁴⁹ The Medici took over responsibility for Bosco ai Frati when they acquired the land and the *ius patronatus* of the convent around 1420 from the Ubaldini family.⁶⁵⁰ The sixteenth-century chronicle of Bosco ai Frati explains the Medici had been involved in intermittent rebuilding of the church and other buildings from the 1420s up to 1438. The most likely candidate for architect is Michelozzo.⁶⁵¹ There was still some building into the 1440s and work was probably finished by 1449 when the Observant Franciscan General Chapter was held there.⁶⁵²

The painting is a *Madonna and Child with Angels and Saints* (Figure 119). The Virgin sits on a wide seat flanked by two angels in front of an architectural screen. On her right are three Franciscan saints, Francis, Louis of Toulouse and Anthony of Padua. On her left are the Medici saints, Cosmas and Damian, and the Dominican Peter Martyr. SS. Cosmas and Damian are a similar type to the ones Angelico used in the San Marco altarpiece. They wear the round

⁶⁴⁹ Local landowning patrons claimed right over appointments to ecclesiastical offices, such as rectors. Many leading Florentine families did this. D. Kent, *Cosimo de' Medici*, 167-168.

⁶⁵⁰ The family was linked to the church in an earlier will, executed by Giovanni di Bicci and Cosimo in 1417-19 on behalf of Giovanni di Francesco da Gagliano, branch manager of the Medici bank in Venice who was buried at Bosco. Robinson, *Cosimo de' Medici's Patronage of the Observantist Movement*, 22-25.

⁶⁵¹ Crispin Robinson uses the two early chronicles of the convent, 1545 by Fra Giuliano Ughi della Cavallina and 1580 by Fra Pulinari. Robinson, *Cosimo de' Medici's Patronage of the Observantist Movement*, 27. 1420-1438, Michelozzo was probably also doing work at Trebbio. Despite Vespasiano's assertion to the contrary, Bosco is generally assumed to be before San Marco. Ferrara and Quinterio, *Michelozzo di Bartolomeo*, 164-177.

⁶⁵² Crispin Charles Robinson, "Cosimo de' Medici and the Franciscan Observants at Bosco ai Frati" Ames-Lewis, ed. *Cosimo 'il Vecchio' de' Medici*, 181-194.

red beret with vair trim and the long fur-lined pink cloak over a blue robe. Each holds a medical box to indicate his profession and a martyr's palm to emphasize his sanctity. In a similar manner to the earlier Novitiate altarpiece by Filippo Lippi (Figure 116), a red Medici *palla* is included above each capital in the frieze in the entablature of the architecture behind the figures. A sixteenth-century drawing of the original frame reveals a frieze of *palle* there as well.⁶⁵³

The predella is made up of half-length portraits of saints flanking a central Pieta, including SS. Dominic, Bernardino, Peter, Paul, Jerome and Benedict.⁶⁵⁴ Because the predella includes San Bernardino, who was canonized in 1450, the altarpiece is generally dated 1450-1452.⁶⁵⁵ However, it is most likely the main panel, which does not include Bernardino, was completed for the General Chapter of Observant Franciscans that was held at Bosco ai Frati in 1449 and the predella followed some years later as is suggested by Crispin Robinson.⁶⁵⁶ Robinson later hypothesizes that Bernardino could have been included in the predella as a blessed in anticipation of his canonization.⁶⁵⁷ This would have to coincide with the return of Fra Angelico to Fiesole from Rome in 1449. Further, there is no visual distinction made between the halo/nimbus of Bernardino and

⁶⁵³ Matches the *palle* on the altar chapel arch. Robinson "Cosimo de' Medici and the Franciscan Observants at Bosco ai Frati" 190.

⁶⁵⁴ Two predelle were originally suggested, one with the life of Francis and the other the Pieta with half-length portraits. The predella with the saints has been determined to be the correct one because it was cut down in exactly the same way the main panel was. Baldini, *Mostra delle Opere di Fra Angelico*, 79-81.

⁶⁵⁵ John Pope-Hennessy believes the architecture in the panel reflects the work Angelico did at the Vatican and thus is likely from after his return from Rome. Pope-Hennessy, *Fra Angelico*, 34, 215.

⁶⁵⁶ Robinson, *Cosimo de' Medici's Patronage of the Observantist Movement*, 126.

⁶⁵⁷ Robinson, "Cosimo de' Medici and the Franciscan Observants at Bosco ai Frati," 190.

the other saints, this is in contrast to the Chapter Room fresco at San Marco where it appears some difference does exist between *beati* and saints (although it is not entirely consistent).

As in the San Marco Altarpiece, which included S. Francis, the presence of S. Peter Martyr in the main panel is noteworthy. Although there seems to be a message of unity in the predella, if that were the reason for the inclusion of a Dominican saint in the main panel as well it would seem more appropriate to have Dominic there than Peter Martyr. Again the likelihood of the desire of the patron to have the saint included must be raised, placing the family patrons before an audience of friars and other distinguished visitors to the convent. The family also paid for masses to be sung on the feast days of the family saints.⁶⁵⁸ At Bosco there was no existing devotional reason for the inclusion of the family saints as they had not been part of the liturgical ritual of the convent.

San Girolamo in Fiesole also received a Medici altarpiece including SS. Cosmas and Damian. In this case the patron was Giovanni di Cosimo who participated in the renovation of the convent as he was building a villa near by (Figure 120).⁶⁵⁹ Although the Hieronymites had some interest in SS. Cosmas and Damian, their prominence here is more likely attributable to the patron family.

⁶⁵⁸ After Cosimo's death Piero paid for the friars to sing mass daily for his father for a month. Piero also paid for the feast days of SS. Cosmas and Damian as well as Francis and Giuliano. Robinson, *Cosimo de' Medici's Patronage of the Observantist Movement*, 38.

⁶⁵⁹ Michelozzo who built the convent between 1445 and 1451 and returned after working on Giovanni's villa to build the church when money was allotted to the project by the Signoria in 1463. See Ferrara and Quinterio, *Michelozzo da Bartolommeo*, 234-238, 252-253. Amanda Lillie, "Giovanni di Cosimo and the Villa Medici at Fiesole" in Andreas Beyer and Bruce Boucher eds., *Piero de' Medici 'il Gottoso' (1416-1469)* 189-205. Dale Kent points out that the Rucellai also donated an image of S. Jerome and a chapel to San Girolamo and she believes there was likely an element of competition. D. Kent, *Cosimo de' Medici*, 213, 359.

The altarpiece, dated to the end of Giovanni's life, he died in 1463 a year before his father, is of a Madonna and Child flanked by S. Jerome and S. John the Baptist.⁶⁶⁰ Also included in the main panel are SS. Cosmas and Damian. S. Lawrence who has the Medici *palle* on his vestments and S. Francis. The predella includes scenes from the life of S. Jerome on either side of a central *Man of Sorrows* image very similar to the one at San Marco.⁶⁶¹

In some cases instead of the family inserting their patron saints into religious environments it was the existence of devotion to the family saints that drew Medici patronage to various foundations.⁶⁶² A letter from the rector of the church of SS. Cosma e Damiano in Pisa of 10 September 1436 reminds Cosimo of his father's generosity to the church in the past, paying for celebration of the feast of SS. Cosmas and Damian, whom he describes as "your protectors."⁶⁶³ The investment would be rewarded by the glorification accorded SS. Cosmas and Damian who would act as intercessors for Cosimo and his family, further the rector would continue to pray for Cosimo's success politically as he wished.⁶⁶⁴

⁶⁶⁰ The Hieronymites were only allowed grey robes after 1460, so Crispin Robinson dates the painting between 1460 and 1463/4. Robinson, *Cosimo de' Medici's Patronage of the Observantist Movement*, 142-143. The altarpiece is by a follower of Angelico and is now in the Petit Palais in Avignon, where it is catalogued as by Gherardo Starnina or Zanobi Strozzi. 220 x 269cm. Van Os, *Sienese Altarpieces II*, 59.

⁶⁶¹ Side pilasters include SS. Ambrose, Augustine, Gregory, Anthony, Paul and Peter.

⁶⁶² See the letter from Fra Romulo de' Medici as well as the correspondence with the church of SS. Cosma e Damiano in Rome quoted above.

⁶⁶³ "Spectabilis et famose vir et maior honorabilis per che io trovo per ricordo fatto per lo mio antecessore et anche per publica fama, la reolenda memoria del vostro padre et voi avete sempre posto le mani in subsidio della festa de glorioso martiri san cosma et san damiano vostri protectori." ASF MAP 12:168, Robinson, *Cosimo de' Medici's Patronage of the Observantist Movement*, 186.

⁶⁶⁴ "Acciò a laude de dio et gloria de detti santi piu solememente detta festa io fare possa vi degnate in acto del lemosina farmi qual che avuto saranno detti sancti dinnanti adio intercessori per voi et

Dale Kent further illuminates the importance of patronage relationships in fifteenth-century Florentine society. Following Peter Brown's work on similar relationships in late antiquity, Kent sees the relationships she looked at in her work on the rise of the Medici, the patronage ties of *amici* and family, as parallel to the relationship between men and their patron saints who acted as intercessors on their behalf.⁶⁶⁵ She points to the reciprocal nature of the relationship between individuals and their patrons as is illustrated by the letter from the rector of the church in Pisa to Cosimo de' Medici in which it is made clear that in exchange for money given to support the feast of SS. Cosmas and Damian, not only will the saints themselves act as intercessors but the rector himself will pray for continued Medici success.⁶⁶⁶

Although no direct evidence survives it seems entirely possible that the relationship between Cosimo and Piero de' Medici and the Observant Franciscan house, San Girolamo just outside of Volterra, was based on a similar premise to that outlined by the rector at Pisa. Cosimo and Piero di Cosimo had both spent quite a bit of time in Volterra taking the waters for their gout and given his

io di continuo lo progherò che lo stato vostro conservi et exalti come desiderate." ASF MAP 12:168. Robinson, *Cosimo de' Medici's Patronage of the Observantist Movement*, 186.

⁶⁶⁵ She writes, "The elements of obligation and intercession common to friends, patrons and saints helped to fuse their roles in Florentine minds as they had done for Christians since late antiquity... The mechanism of charity and the cult of patron saints threw a bridge across the abyss between protective power of worldly patrons and an analogous but invisible patronage network of protectors and intercessors for souls beyond the grave" D. Kent, *Cosimo de' Medici*, 135. See also "Peter Brown, *The Cult of Saints. Its Rise and Function in Latin Christianity* (Chicago, 1981). See Dale Kent, "The Florentine Reggimento in the Fifteenth Century." *Renaissance Quarterly* 28 (1975) 575-638 and *The Rise of the Medici Faction in Florence 1426-1434* (Oxford, 1978).

⁶⁶⁶ D. Kent, *Cosimo de' Medici*, 135. Megan Holmes describes the patron saints in the Novitiate altarpiece as "analogic representations of Cosimo's role as the beneficent, charitable, and propitious religious patron." Holmes, *Fra Filippo Lippi*, 195.

position in the area perhaps he was the most obvious person to approach.⁶⁶⁷ But also to be considered it that SS. Cosmas and Damian were traditional protectors of the city of Volterra, as was described in the third chapter of this thesis. It was the city of Volterra that was the other patron of San Girolamo. The project had been begun by the city in 1445 and it is likely some part of it was built by 1447 when the Franciscan provincial chapter was there.⁶⁶⁸ The convent has strong similarities to Bosco ai Frati and Michelozzo's influence is clear although his direct involvement is not proven.⁶⁶⁹

Coincidentally in 1463, about the same time as the building of S. Girolamo and the completion of the altarpiece for the church, it was deemed necessary for the city statutes to decree again that the priors and clergy from the churches of Volterra should celebrate the feast of SS. Cosmas and Damian in the *Palazzo dei Priori*, thus reinforcing the edict of 1383, the date when the celebration was first moved from the cathedral to the *Palazzo dei Priori*.⁶⁷⁰

⁶⁶⁷ There has been speculation about Cosimo being worried about a possible Aragonese invasion of Tuscany, and something to do with alumina mines in the area but these were not of interest until later. Robinson, *Cosimo de' Medici's Patronage of the Observantist Movement*, 53. Cosimo bathes there and was told about the unfinished convent and decided to help. Ferrara and Quinterio, *Michelozzo di Bartolommeo*, 356

⁶⁶⁸ The decision to build a new monastery was taken 1441, but land was not bought until 1445, a hill outside the walls known as Velloso/Velosori. Crispin Robinson believes the authorities may have been embarrassed by the state of things at the time of the Chapter and decided they needed outside money at that point. Cosimo's participation as joint patron was confirmed by the priors of the city in 1450. Robinson, *Cosimo de' Medici's Patronage of the Observantist Movement*, 50-54.

⁶⁶⁹ Robinson makes a strong case for Michelozzo's involvement in the design based on similarities to Bosco. Robinson, *Cosimo de' Medici's Patronage of the Observantist Movement*, 57-60. There are elements linked to Michelozzo, but he is not definitely the architect. Ferrara and Quinterio, *Michelozzo di Bartolommeo*, 357.

⁶⁷⁰ "Della Festa di Sancti Cosme et Damiano del mese di settembre. Per salute universale dell'anime volterrane et accio che Iddio et huomini della città di Volterra conservi mediante l'orationi et preghi de' beati Sancti Cosme et Damiano et similmente la mactina di decta festa e' signori Priori e decto tempo presidenti faccino, debbino et sieno tenuti fare invitare e cohadunare tucti et singuli capitoli et conventi de' frati di sancto Francesco, sancto Agustino et

It is not a great stretch to imagine the involvement of the Medici with the city was somehow linked to the reinforcement of the feast of SS. Cosmas and Damian, who paradoxically were originally elevated to patrons through their help in resisting the Florentines in the thirteenth century. As described by the rector of the church in Pisa, the glorification of SS. Cosmas and Damian was beneficial for the Medici as they acted as intercessors for the family.

The Medici *stemma* appears only in the church and the sacristy of San Girolamo, which were substantially complete by 1465, the year after Cosimo's death. It seems most likely that Piero di Cosimo completed the work at the convent and may have directed work on the altarpiece as well.⁶⁷¹ The altarpiece depicts the *Madonna and Child with Saints*, and is also thought to be from around 1465 (Figure 121). The form of the original frame is known from a seventeenth-century drawing and it contained the Medici *stemma*.⁶⁷² In the panel the Virgin and Child sit on an elevated throne that does not appear to be integrated with the

de' canonici et preti della maggiore chiesa di Volterra et etiandio frati et monaci della badia di Sancto Guisto et altri conventi se avere si possono et fare solepnemente celebrare contando il vespro e la messa solepne nella sala di palazzo della residentia de' decti Signori Priori, si come e stati usitato e consueto e reverenzia di Dio et de prefati beati et sancti martiri." Annibale Cinci, *Statuti di Volterra* (Florence 1879) Cap. LIII. See also Robinson, *Cosimo de' Medici's Patronage of the Observantist Movement*, 177.

⁶⁷¹ Signs of his intervention, in the form of *stemme* with seven *palle*, are on the facade of the church and the arch of presbytery. Ferrara and Quinterio, *Michelozzo di Bartolommeo*, 356. There is a Medici stone inscription in the convent from 1465 and an inscription on a choir stall. As for the rest of the convent it is difficult to tell who built what, the Comune *stemma* does not appear. However there is no fleur-de-lys on the *stemma* so the building can be dated to before 1465. Robinson, *Cosimo de' Medici's Patronage of the Observantist Movement*, 55-59.

⁶⁷² Robinson suggests Domenico di Michelino. He found two later unpublished documents from 1621 and 1768 that describe the altarpiece and date the painting to 1465. The 1621 document to Medici Grand Duke appeals for a new altarpiece, it provides a drawing of the painting in its original frame. Robinson, *Cosimo de' Medici's Patronage of the Observantist Movement*, 178-180, Documents 9, 10. Also suggested is a follower of Benvenuto di Giovanni da Siena. Ferrara and Quinterio, *Michelozzo di Bartolommeo*, 356.

architecture behind it. An entablature ornamented with a strip of mouldings runs the width of the panel, behind the throne. Above it the tops of trees and a bit of sky are visible. From it hangs a gold cloth or curtain that creates an unmodulated backdrop for the figures. The curtain falls directly from the entablature, so no architectural features are revealed making the space seem extremely shallow.⁶⁷³ Standing beside the Virgin are SS. Lawrence and Anthony of Padua on her right and SS. Cosmas and Damian on her left. SS. Jerome and Francis kneel before her on either side of a vase of lilies.

Such patronage projects served a number of ends, many of which were clearly devotional, but at the same time as Crispin Robinson points out, the identification of the family with SS. Cosmas and Damian enabled the Medici to build and put their arms in other cities, like Pisa, Rome and Volterra. He suggests that saints as well as arms and devices could be used to indicate family patronage.⁶⁷⁴ Although the association with the saints was clearly understood, as is shown in the letters seeking Medici money, when the Medici patron saints appeared, they invariably appeared in conjunction with other familial symbols such as the coat of arms or the *palle*.

⁶⁷³ It is crowded, but the measurements of the frame from 1621 seem to indicate it was never much wider (panel 210x185cm, frame approx. 219x292cm, based on a braccia being 58.4cm), it does seem to have been taller, but as there was no predella in the drawing Crispin Robinson thinks the large cornice and cross of the frame made up the extra height. Robinson, *Cosimo de' Medici's Patronage of the Observantist Movement*, 134-135.

⁶⁷⁴ Crispin Robinson emphasizes that Cosimo's patronage of the Observantist exceeded his Florentine contemporaries and hypothesizes that perhaps he was intending to emulate and rival the patronage of the princely rulers of city states. Robinson, *Cosimo de' Medici's Patronage of the Observantist Movement*, 10-11, 98-99, 111-113.

Outside of the immediate environment of Florence itself the production of images of SS. Cosmas and Damian continued within the contexts familiar to the cult and it seems likely the saints alone were not quite enough to identify a commission as Medici. For example the Sienese altarpiece by Sano di Pietro described above was commissioned by a doctor and another doctor, Giovanni Chellini built his burial chapel and commissioned an altarpiece dedicated to the saints between 1456 and 1460 in San Miniato al Tedesco just outside of Florence based on his longstanding personal devotion to SS. Cosmas and Damian.⁶⁷⁵

Within Florence, during the lifetime of Cosimo, the Medici dominated the iconography of SS. Cosmas and Damian and yet still the saints do not appear without other signs of patronage such as the *stemma* indicating that whilst saints may recall an individual to the viewer they did not indicate authorship in the same way as more concrete dynastic symbols. Furthermore, Medici dominance over the production of images of SS. Cosmas and Damian did not result in a change in the iconography. In fact the Medici adopted an existing iconography but their repeated use of it outside of the medical context resulted in new associations for SS. Cosmas and Damian. The connection to the Medici was strong enough that within Florence from the 1430s through to the end of Cosimo's life there are no surviving non-Medicean images of SS. Cosmas and Damian, other than the Chellini chapel in San Miniato.⁶⁷⁶ Doubtless some images

⁶⁷⁵ Maria Teresa Sillano, ed. *Le Ricordanze di Giovanni Chellini da San Miniato. Medico, mercante e umanista (1425-1457)*, (Milan, 1984) 215. See Chapter 3.

⁶⁷⁶ The latest non-Medicean works are from the 1420s. It appears the work was commissioned from Bicci di Lorenzo in 1429 for the Florentine Duomo by Antonio Ghezzi della Casa did not

have been lost, but the evidence is strong enough that all images of SS. Cosmas and Damian produced at the time in Florence are considered through a Medici filter.

For example the Alessandri altarpiece is likely to include SS. Cosmas and Damian as a statement of allegiance to the Medici (Figure 122). The Alessandri were well-known Medici partisans and in this case the inclusion of SS. Cosmas and Damian, who are not familiar Alessandri family saints, could well be intended as a tribute to their political patrons.⁶⁷⁷ In the panel, dated to the late 1440s, SS. Cosmas and Damian appear on either side of an enthroned S. Lawrence, titular saint of S. Lorenzo, one of the churches at the Villa Alessandri at Vincigliata. Vasari identifies the three donor figures as Alessandro degli Alessandri (1391-1460) and two of his five sons, probably Jacopo and Antonio.⁶⁷⁸ The inclusion of SS. Cosmas and Damian in a panel for reasons of political association illustrated that certainly for a short period of time, the traditional associations of SS. Cosmas and Damian with healing and medicine, were superseded by their role as patrons to the Medici family.

Of course the role of SS. Cosmas and Damian as doctors and healers was not completely ignored, even within the context of their role as family patrons.

have a Medici connection, as with the slightly earlier panel from the same workshop now in S. Ambrogio. See Chapter 3.

⁶⁷⁷ Alessandro Alessandri was a close friend and ally of Cosimo de' Medici. Ginevra Alessandri married Giovanni di Cosimo in 1453. Megan Holmes points out that as well as a statement of allegiance Alessandri was also appropriating these intercessors for his own devotional needs. Holmes, *Fra Filippo Lippi*, 155. See also Robinson, *Cosimo de' Medici's Patronage of the Observantist Movement*, 139. D. Kent, *Cosimo de' Medici*, 356.

⁶⁷⁸ Panels including S. Anthony Abbot and S. Benedict are also thought to form part of the altarpiece now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art. Ruda, *Fra Filippo Lippi*, 429, cat.39

There is evidence to suggest that the medical association was appreciated by the family and not lost on some of their audience. Dale Kent includes a number of letters that illustrate instances of this understanding. The first is a letter from Francesco di Giuliano de' Medici to his father, Giuliano d'Averardo, during the Medici exile in 1433 that reports a comment made by the emperor who was supposed to have said, "the Florentines have driven out those very *medici* of whom they have the greatest need." Another letter from one Malpiglio d'Antonio di Malpiglio Cicioni to his friend Giovanni di Cosimo in Venice, 20 November 1434 after the recall of the Medici states, "I see that our *patria*, our city is cured [*medichata*] and disposed to prosper under the worthy regime which has been established."⁶⁷⁹ She also includes examples of personal appeals to the Medici for help that are couched in medical imagery.⁶⁸⁰

Part 6: Private devotion

The presence of SS. Cosmas and Damian in images was not restricted to public works; the patron saints also appear in Medici images designed for more private environments. The *Seven Saints* by Filippo Lippi is one of a pair of lunette-shaped panels, the other being an *Annunciation* presumably intended for a Medici

⁶⁷⁹ MAP 5, 703, the letter from Malpiglio d'Antonio di Malpiglio Cicioni, "Vegho la nostra patria, la nostra città medichata e ata a prosperare durante el buon ghoverno principato," MAP 5, 653. D. Kent, *Cosimo de' Medici*, 118-119.

⁶⁸⁰ An interesting example is an appeal by the poet Giovanni di Maffeo Barberini in which he asks Cosimo to apply his medicine or salves to remedy the treatment he had received from government officials. D. Kent, *Cosimo de' Medici*, 119.

domestic setting (Figure 123 and Figure 124).⁶⁸¹ The shape and content of the images have led to the assumption that they were intended as decorative paintings for an interior, most likely over-door panels.⁶⁸² The seven saints, seated on a stone bench, are from left to right, SS. Francis, Lawrence, Cosmas or Damian, John the Baptist, Cosmas or Damian, Anthony Abbot and Peter Martyr. As a point of interest SS. Cosmas and Damian both have carefully rendered rectangular medical boxes that are open revealing the compartments inside. Here the pincers are shown standing in the boxes, a practical detail which helps show how they were used. In the accompanying *Annunciation* panel there is a Medici device of feathers through a diamond ring, used by the family from the mid fifteenth century onward.⁶⁸³

The Medici saints combined with the device in the *Annunciation* identify these two panels as family commissions but the patron is not known for certain. The most likely candidate is Piero di Cosimo. The panels have been dated to as early as 1449, possibly to commemorate the birth of Piero's son Lorenzo, and as late as the later 1450s, mainly on stylistic grounds.⁶⁸⁴ The other possible patron

⁶⁸¹ In the early nineteenth century the panels were in the Palazzo Medici-Riccardi, but their original location is not known. Now in the National Gallery in London. Dillian Gordon, *The Fifteenth Century: Italian Paintings I, National Gallery Catalogues*, (London, 2003) 142-155.

⁶⁸² Dillian Gordon points out that the viewpoint suggests the paintings were hung above eye level. There is little damage suggesting they were not in a piece of furniture that saw heavy use and she leans toward over-door panels. Gordon, *The Fifteenth Century*, 152-154. It has also been suggested that they were bedheads. Christopher Baker and Tom Henry, *The National Gallery Complete Illustrated Catalogue*, 384.

⁶⁸³ The diamond ring for eternity and ostrich feathers for justice was certainly used by Piero di Cosimo but does not really seem to have been used by Cosimo himself. Other families did use the ring as well. Ames-Lewis, "Early Medicean Devices" 126-130.

⁶⁸⁴ Francis Ames-Lewis following Martin Davies believes the painting was most likely commissioned to commemorate the birth of Lorenzo di Piero and supports the earlier dating of 1449 Ames-Lewis, "Art in the Service of the Family" 207-217. See also Martin Davies, "Fra

suggested by Jeffrey Ruda is Pierfrancesco di Lorenzo whose name saints Francis and Peter Martyr appear at either end of the group. Pierfrancesco was married in 1456 and moved into the old palazzo on the Via Larga at that time.⁶⁸⁵

The identification of Piero di Cosimo as patron is primarily arrived at through the analysis of the figures included in the *Seven Saints*.⁶⁸⁶ There is clear evidence to support the idea that Piero identified with these saints as they all appear in an often quoted dedicatory introduction to an inventory of his possessions in 1465.⁶⁸⁷ The inclusion of S. Julian in this list is generally linked to the birth of Giuliano di Piero in 1453 and conversely the absence of Julian in the painting of the *Seven Saints* gives a probable terminus ante quem of the same date.

The seven saints are seated on a bench in a garden, seemingly engaged in both prayer and conversation. In the panel SS. Cosmas and Damian, the family

Filippo Lippi's Annunciation and Seven Saints" *Critica d'Arte* 8 (1950) 356-360. Jeffrey Ruda believes that stylistically they are very close to the *Adoration* Lippi painted as an altarpiece for the chapel of the Palazzo Medici and that the style and use of colour definitely place the panels in the late 1450s. Ruda, *Fra Filippo Lippi*, 202-203. Also Baker and Henry, *The National Gallery Complete Illustrated Catalogue*, 384.

⁶⁸⁵ Ruda, *Fra Filippo Lippi*, 202, 444-446, cat. 50a and 50b. The panels do not appear in the inventories of his descendants, but they may have been built in and thus not included. John Shearman, "The Collections of the Younger Branch of the Medici," *Burlington Magazine* 117 (1975) 12-27. There is also no record of Pierfrancesco using the device of the ring and feathers. D. Kent, *Cosimo de' Medici*, 260. More typical to Piero di Cosimo, Ames-Lewis, "Early Medicean Devices" 127.

⁶⁸⁶ Gombrich points out that the panel also suits Piero's taste for delicate surfaces, bright colours, lots of gold which is deduced partly from his patronage projects, but mainly from a letter from a painter called Matteo de' Pasti to Piero. De' Pasti describes a technique for using powdered gold, decorative elements and specifically young figures that he believes will particularly appeal to Piero. Gombrich, "The Early Medici as Patrons of Art" 298.

⁶⁸⁷ "Al nome sia dell' omnipotente dia et della sua gloriosa madre madonna sancta maria sempre vergine et di miss. sancto giovanbatista et di miss. sancto Lorenzo et di miss. sancto Cosimo et di miss. sancto Damiano et di mess. sancto Antonio et di mess. sancto Piero martire et di mess. sancto Francescho et di mess. sancto Giuliano..." The document is printed without the invocation in Eugène Müntz, *Les collections des Médicis au quinzième siècle : le musée, la bibliothèque, le mobilier*, (Paris, 1888) 35-51. Ames-Lewis, "Art in the Service of the Family" 215.

protectors, appear in particularly youthful guise, on either side of an equally young S. John the Baptist, patron of Florence. It is likely that as well as his civic role, John the Baptist recalled family members called Giovanni.⁶⁸⁸ S. Lawrence appears next, in conversation with S. Francis, presumably as patron of the parish church, but also patron to Lorenzo di Piero and perhaps also of his dead great uncle Lorenzo di Giovanni. Opposite these two are Anthony Abbot and Peter Martyr, name saint of the likely patron of the works, who looks out of the image toward the viewer inviting him or her into the discussion.

It has been suggested that the four saints surrounding John the Baptist represent the four sons of Giovanni di Bicci, as recorded by Pompeo Litta. That is Cosimo and Lorenzo as well as Antonio (d. 1398) and Damiano (d. 1390) who died in childhood. In this way it presents a genealogical narrative that ends with Peter Martyr and Francis on the outside of the composition, representing Piero di Cosimo and Pierfrancesco di Lorenzo respectively.⁶⁸⁹ These identifications

⁶⁸⁸ An example that is used to show the use of different saints to represent family members is the so called *Medici Madonna and Child* painted by Rogier van der Weyden ca. 1450 (Figure 125). Here the Madonna and Child are seen with SS. Cosmas, Damian, Peter the Apostle and John the Baptist. The Florentine lily appears on a shield below the figures. Francis Ames-Lewis believes Cosimo's sons Piero and Giovanni are meant to be figured and that John the Baptist would be used when "resonances to the city of Florence were appropriate to the meaning of the image." Ames-Lewis, "Art in the Service of the Family" 215. John Paoletti believes Peter the Apostle represents Piero di Cosimo at San Lorenzo but also points out Peter could indicate the Papacy, important to the Medici who had been papal bankers since 1413, and John the city of Florence. Paoletti, "Donatello's Bronze Doors" 51-52, 60. If the van der Weyden commission was associated with the bank as suggested by Dale Kent it seems reasonable that the associations to Florence and the Papacy could have been intended. D. Kent, *Cosimo de' Medici*, 262-264. It is possible the panel was painted in Florence as is suggested by Erwin Panofsky, *Early Netherlandish Painting I* (Harvard, 1971) 274. However if this is the case, van der Weyden has not been influenced by Florentine iconography of SS. Cosmas and Damian, including the uroscopy flask, a popular attribute in northern Europe but never used in Florence.

⁶⁸⁹ The painting would thus present a genealogical narrative with Giovanni di Bicci represented by John the Baptist in the centre, his four sons on either side of him, and the third generation, Piero di Cosimo and Pierfrancesco di Lorenzo represented by Peter Martyr and Francis on the

remain problematic, as there is yet no proof aside from Litta that the sons Damian and Anthony existed. Furthermore it does seem unusual that there would be such a strong interest in long dead relatives who had not featured regularly in family paintings up to this point.

The presence of onomastic patron saints of family members from several generations surely does reinforce a message of dynastic continuity but there are difficulties with the rigidity of interpretations that rely on each saint acting as a direct representative for an individual family member. For example, the identification of the long dead children Damiano and Antonio is dependent on the presence of S Anthony Abbot. In images in which he does not appear, such as the Annalena and San Marco altarpieces, SS. Cosmas and Damian are both interpreted as representing Cosimo.⁶⁹⁰ The assumption that Anthony Abbot is a direct representative of a family member does not leave room for a devotional interpretation of his inclusion.⁶⁹¹ With respect to Cosmas and Damian it seems

outside of the composition. Ames-Lewis, "Art in the Service of the Family" 216-217. An alternative in the genealogical narrative is provided by Martin Davies who established the identification of most of the figures, however he believed S. Francis was present as Francesco Tornabuoni, Piero di Cosimo's father-in-law. Martin Davies, "Fra Filippo Lippi's Annunciation and Seven Saints" 359.

⁶⁹⁰ Ames-Lewis, "Art in the Service of the Family" 212. Conversely when Anthony of Padua appears in paintings along with Lawrence and Cosmas and Damian he is never interpreted as standing for the dead brother Antonio.

⁶⁹¹ Later in his life Cosimo was interested in Anthony Abbot and his role as the father of monasticism as well as other themes close to Cosimo at this time such as old age and overcoming the temptations of the flesh D. Kent, *Cosimo de' Medici*, 149. Dale Kent has also suggested that the presence of Anthony Abbot could be related to the 1444 re-discovery of the relics of some early Christian saints, including Anthony Abbot at S. Lorenzo by Cosimo. St. Mark of Rome, S. Concordia and S. Anthony Abbot. In 1461 when the high altar of S. Lorenzo was reconsecrated the relics were transferred there. D. Kent, *Cosimo de' Medici*, 377. Although slightly confusing because on p. 261, n.111 she says it was Anthony of Padua. This seems less likely as Richa, supported by the inscriptions in the church, tells us that the relics discovered and subsequently translated to the high altar were of "S. Marco Papa, Scto. Amato Abate, et Scta Concordia Martire." G. Richa *Notizie Istoriche delle Chiese Fiorentine Divise ne'suoi Quartieri* 5, 54.

clear that from the time of Giovanni di Bicci both SS. Cosmas and Damian acted as intercessors and protectors to the Medici family as whole and by extension protectors of Cosimo as the head of that family. While it is logical that S. Cosmas had a particular onomastic association to Cosimo de' Medici, there is no evidence to show that S. Damian was intended as anything other than one of the two 'medici'.

The same group of saints, with the addition of S. Julian, are included in the altarpiece for the chapel of the Medici villa at Cafaggiolo. *The Virgin and Child with Eight Saints* by Alesso Baldovinetti is dated to the early 1450s and because of the presence of St. Julian, not previously included in Medici altarpieces, it is thought to be from after 1453 the year Giuliano di Piero was born (Figure 126).⁶⁹² There had, however, been an altar at the chapel of the villa dedicated to Saints Francis and Julian when Cafaggiolo belonged to Cosimo's cousin Averardo di Francesco di Bicci who also had a son called Giuliano and thus although it seems the most likely impetus for the commission, the connection to the birth of Giuliano di Piero may not be completely unambiguous.⁶⁹³ Still, the combination of the presence of S. Julian and the same group of saints as in Lippi's over-door panel do seem to point toward Piero di Cosimo as the likely patron.⁶⁹⁴

⁶⁹² 176x166cm. The panel was still at Cafaggiolo in a 1498 inventory. Robinson, *Cosimo de' Medici's Patronage of the Observantist Movement*, 128. It came to the Uffizi in 1796 from the villa of Cafaggiolo in the Mugello. *Gli Uffizi: Catalogo Generale*, 140.

⁶⁹³ D. Kent, *Cosimo de' Medici*, 149.

⁶⁹⁴ Ruth Kennedy points out that Piero had also used Baldovinetti in his chapel at the *Annunziata* and he was chiefly concerned with Caffaggiolo at this time as well. She also thinks Piero di Cosimo was probably the patron. Kennedy, *Alesso Baldovinetti*, 55.

Although Cafaggiolo hosted some important visitors the altarpiece was mainly a family image.⁶⁹⁵ The composition recalls the San Marco altarpiece, but in a more intimate and relaxed setting. Once again the Virgin and Child appear with three saints standing on either side of them, to the right of are SS. John the Baptist, Cosmas and Damian and to the left are SS. Lawrence, Julian and Anthony Abbot. Rather than being separated from the Virgin and Child by a large raised throne here the saints surround them as they sit on a low bench in a garden. Two saints kneel in the grass in the foreground; here they are SS. Francis and Peter Martyr. Neither saint looks toward the viewer, both apparently in deep contemplation of the Child who lies across his mother's lap in the manner of a *pietà*.⁶⁹⁶ Where San Marco had a more formal feeling of a court of heaven, this picture is much more intimate drawing the viewer into the quiet contemplative group. Although the garden does seem to reflect the rural setting of Cafaggiolo, the Virgin still sits on an expensive imported carpet in front of a beautiful gold brocade curtain. Despite the chapel being in a country house, it has been pointed out that it was luxurious and had very expensive fittings.⁶⁹⁷

The Cafaggiolo altarpiece invites similar problems of interpretation as Lippi's *Seven Saints*. In the case of several of the saints numerous plausible

⁶⁹⁵ San Bernardino and the Pope were amongst the more illustrious visitors, but most were hosted at Careggi. D. Kent, *Cosimo de' Medici*, 149.

⁶⁹⁶ It is suggested that the position of the child as well as the mournful expression on the face of John the Baptist could refer to the death in 1459 of Cosimo's beloved grandson, Cosimino di Giovanni. Ames-Lewis, "Art in the Service of the Family" 216, n.30. The painting is usually dated earlier than 1459.

⁶⁹⁷ In 1464 inventory of Piero di Cosimo, chapel fittings are detailed. Spallanzani, *Inventari Medicei* 1417-1465, 160-161. See also Kennedy, *Alesso Baldovinetti*, 53.

explanations exist for their inclusion.⁶⁹⁸ It is likely that several associations were intended for some saints and that they could be included in images for multiple reasons, both political and devotional. One would certainly imagine that the presence of the saint with a name like Giovanni or Piero would recall the family member to a viewer and thus give credence to the ideas of dynastic layers of meaning in the paintings, but it is difficult to determine the exact nature of the relationship between such saints and the individuals in question. Further, no matter what family association was intended, the presence of a saint such as John the Baptist would still be understood in his role as patron of Florence.

What does become apparent is that there was less ambiguity with respect to SS. Cosmas and Damian than there was with some of the other saints. The doctor saints, whilst retaining a certain amount of flexibility through not being tied to a particular pathology, were in the early fifteenth century clearly understood in the popular imagination to be connected to medicine, medical professionals and healing, as was discussed in the third chapter of this thesis. Nonetheless in the Medici images described above, the saints were so far removed from their traditional context that for a time their natural connection to healing and medicine was temporarily secondary to their role as patrons of the Medici. In Florence during the time when Cosimo was head of the family the

⁶⁹⁸ For example, in the case of S. Francis, as well as patron to Pierfrancesco di Lorenzo a further layer of meaning is suggested by Ruth Kennedy who believes he could be representative of the Franciscans and the family chapel at Santa Croce, matching S. Lawrence who as well as a family patron could represent S. Lorenzo and Peter Martyr who could indicate both Piero di Cosimo and San Marco. Kennedy, *Alesso Baldovinetti*, 55. Dale Kent proposes the inclusion of S. Francis could have something to do with the proximity to Bosco ai Frati as well as representing the two mendicant orders in tandem with Peter Marytr. D. Kent, *Cosimo de' Medici*, 149.

Medici dominated the iconography to the extent that non-Medicean images were not produced. Outside of Florence the connection between the family and their patrons was also clearly understood and was seen as a way of attracting Medici patronage and conversely a way of insinuating Medici influence in new places.

In contrast to alternate interpretations, such as William Hood, Dale Kent and Megan Holmes, it seems clear that the identification of the saints with the family was not achieved through personalising the iconography in any significant way. Rather they produced a large number of images by important artists in prominent locations. In this way images of the saints did attain increased artistic importance and more attention was lavished on them than had occurred before in Italian painting, most obviously in the two extensive predella cycles created by Angelico for the Annalena and San Marco altarpieces. Of course the images were only one aspect of the family's devotion to the saints which was reinforced by other means such as the rededication of San Marco, the establishment of chapels and paying for services in the name of SS. Cosmas and Damian as well as their commitment to the celebration of the feast day of the doctors on September 27.⁶⁹⁹ Medici devotion had the effect of giving SS. Cosmas and Damian a civic and political relevance not customary to the cult in the past.

⁶⁹⁹ As well as the chapels discussed above, it is thought there may also have been a Medici chapel dedicated to the saints at the Duomo. References are from after Cosimo's lifetime. Cited by F.W. Kent who got it in turn from Gene Brucker, apparently it is called a 'chapel'. ASF, Notarile Antecosimiano, 6213, fols. 138r-39r, 29/05/1470; Archivio Arcivescovile, Firenze, Visita pastorale (1514), fol. 5r. F.W. Kent, "Lorenzo de' Medici at the Duomo," in Timothy Verdon and Annalisa Innocenti eds., *La cattedrale e la città: saggi sul duomo di Firenze. Atti del VII centenario del Duomo di Firenze I* (Florence, 2001) 341-368, 343. In 1437 Cosimo and Lorenzo had also founded two canonries in the saints' names in the Duomo. Robinson, *Cosimo de' Medici's Patronage of the Observantist Movement*, 100.

Such a clear family association with the patron saints would not have been possible with saints that already had strong civic connections or with saints that were already identified with another important family leading some commentators to suggest that the choice of SS. Cosmas and Damian was part of a deliberate family strategy of self-promotion.⁷⁰⁰ Certainly the choice of a more unusual cult without existing civic associations helped to cement the identification with the family.⁷⁰¹

It is necessary to emphasise the point that despite the more temporal, political and dynastic layers of meaning communicated by such paintings the role of the patron saint as intercessor and exemplar was extremely important. The image of SS. Cosmas and Damian would indicate authorship but in a different way than a coat of arms. The presence of the saints put the Medici in the minds of the viewer but also in their prayers. The portrayal of patron saints in a work of art was often combined with the support of services and institutions linked to the

⁷⁰⁰ Dale Kent writes the choice of names may have been, “part of a strategy to consolidate the identity of the Medici family, and to project it publicly with compelling and memorable symbols of the family’s presence in the city.” However she is careful to emphasize that if this was the case it would not be to serve purely political ends. She believes arms and devices were included for dynastic reasons and that saints were predominantly included in art as intercessors. D. Kent, *Cosimo de’Medici*, 141-142. Catherine Lawless draws parallels to Piero di Cosimo’s use of S. Peter Martyr as a patron. She points out that had the family used Peter the Apostle regularly as an onomastic representative, it would have been difficult to promote a strong family identity due to his existing associations with the Papacy and civic celebrations surrounding his feast day that were dominated by the Albizzi and the Strozzi at San Pier Maggiore. Catherine Lawless, “Myth, Ritual and Orthodoxy: Cosimo de’Medici and Saint Peter Martyr” *Cultural and Social History* 2 (2005) 273-300.

⁷⁰¹ This is reinforced by the fact that Cosimo changed his birthday to celebrate on the feast day of SS. Cosmas and Damian, an association that was so effective that it was actually believed to be his birthday by the time of Machiavelli. McKillop, “Dante and Lumen Christi” 245-303. Niccolò Machiavelli, *Florentine Histories* VII, 6, 282.

saints, placing them time and again in front of the religious who were to pray for them and encourage intercession and favour.

Conclusions

The evolution of the iconography of the doctor saints Cosmas and Damian considered in this thesis, begins with the few images that survive from after the arrival of the cult on the Italian peninsula in the late fourth century and concludes with the commissions of Cosimo de' Medici in the mid fifteenth century. Progress has been shaped by a gradual narrowing of the field geographically and chronologically initially considering examples from around the Mediterranean region and eventually ending up in Medicean Florence, at a time and place where the traditional associations of the saints were temporarily secondary to those of politics and family.

The cult of the holy doctors or anargyros, including SS. Cosmas and Damian, was established in direct opposition to existing pagan healing cults. Effective healing saints were a powerful and efficient tool in the spread of Christianity, fulfilling the same role as pagan healers by providing an accessible intercessor in times of need. In many places Christian sanctuaries actually replaced their predecessors. Bishop Cyril of Alexandria illuminated the self-conscious nature of this process in 414 when he described the necessity of the translation of the relics of SS. Cyrus and John from Alexandria to Menuthis. In a homily given at the translation Cyril explained that the presence of the bodies of

the saints would provide Christians with a local alternative to the popular healing shrine dedicated to Sarapis and Isis they were in the habit of visiting.⁷⁰²

Although the origins of SS. Cosmas and Damian can be traced to Cyrrhus in Northern Syria, the most famous early sanctuary dedicated to the saints was at Kosmidon in Constantinople. It was renovated the mid fifth century by Emperor Justinian I in thanks for a miraculous healing he had received from the saints.⁷⁰³ Valuable information on cult practice at the shrine can be found in the associated collection of miracles, the *Libellus miraculorum Cosmae et Damiani*.⁷⁰⁴ What emerges quite clearly from these accounts is that the patterns of worship inherited much from their pagan counterparts with many healings taking place during the ritual of incubation, the traditional form of worship practiced by devotees of healing shrines, in which suppliants were cured in a dream visions whilst sleeping at the sanctuary. Kosmidon also comprised of an associated hostel, infirmary and pharmacy where suppliants could receive conventional medical treatment as well as participating in incubatory practice and prayer.⁷⁰⁵ The tales in the miracles also strongly support the identification of Cosmas and Damian as doctors, describing them making rounds at the sanctuary and prescribing various treatments to suppliants who arrived there hoping for a cure.

⁷⁰² *Anargyroi* by Bishop Cyril of Alexandria 27 June, 414. *PG* 77:1099-1106; also *PG* 43:209. Afterward the name of Menuthis was changed to Aboukir. Knipp, "The Chapel of Physicians at Santa Maria Antiqua," 1.

⁷⁰³ Procopius, *Buildings* II, ix, 175; Procopius, *Buildings* I, 6, 63.

⁷⁰⁴ The miracles date from the late sixth or early seventh century to ca. 1300. Festugière, trans., *Collections Greques de Miracles*, 85-86.

⁷⁰⁵ Festugière, *Collections Greques de Miracles*, 89-91. Pattengale, *Benevolent Physicians*, 174-175.

It was within this sort of context that the earliest images of saints such as Cosmas and Damian were produced, performing both devotional and votive functions in a manner very similar to the images produced for the pagan cults that preceded them, helping to confirm the authenticity of a saint's appearance and providing a focus for prayer triggering the dream visions essential to a cure.⁷⁰⁶

The manner of portraying the saints was not consistent in the earliest images, such as the sixth century apse mosaic from the church of *SS. Cosma e Damiano* in Rome. Variation can be found in physical appearance or type, costume, and even in the inclusion of medical attributes. By the time of the early eighth century frescoes in the Chapel of the Holy Physicians at *Santa Maria Antiqua* it is clear a consensus has emerged in the representation of the saints. In these examples Cosmas and Damian are included amongst other the popular anargyric saints of the Greek liturgy including Cyrus and John and Panteleimon.⁷⁰⁷ They are presented as young or middle-aged men with dark hair and beards wearing long tunics and mantles. The clothing was unremarkable as compared to saints with religious, courtly or military costume and reflects the fact that they were known for having a secular profession in life. The most distinctive feature of the iconography of Cosmas and Damian was the use of medical attributes that included a variety of items such as scrolls, instrument rolls,

⁷⁰⁶ There was a similar process at shrines to Asklepios where he was imagined in visions in forms sanctioned by images, usually statues, at the cult site. Gary Vikan, "Icons and Icon Piety in Early Byzantium" 572-573. MCD 13, MCD 30, also an episode from the life of Theodore of Sykeon. Festugière, ed. *Vie de Théodore de Sykéon*, Ch. 39, 34-38.

⁷⁰⁷ The frescoes are dated to the time of John VII (705-707). Nordhagen, "The Frescoes of John VII (AD 705-707) in S. Maria Antiqua in Rome." Knipp, "The Chapel of Physicians at Santa Maria Antiqua".

scalpels and boxes or cases for surgical instruments that would have been familiar to contemporary physicians.

Contemporary examples from Saint Catherine's monastery in Sinai, Bawit in Egypt and Sicily reveal a consistent manner of representing the saints across a broad region of Byzantine influence. Such a consensus possibly also reveals traces of lost prototypes, images that would have been well known and already understood to be effective, that would have been influential in the formation of the iconography. The idea of recognition implicit in many of the miracle tales suggests that in images from the most famous sanctuary of the saints, Kosmidon in Constantinople, there was indeed a consistent manner of representing the saints at that place and it is here that would be the most likely place for such prototypes to have developed.

It has been argued here that the early iconography of SS. Cosmas and Damian reinforced the continuity of the role of the saints as miraculous healers without recalling too strongly the imagery associated with their pagan competitors such as Asclepius and the Dioscuri. Although some elements of the iconography would have been familiar, such as the tools of a doctor which did appear at pre-Christian cult sites, the portrayal of the saints as practicing physicians was quite different from the pagan healing deities and had more in common with tomb representations of doctors at the time.

Their portrayal with the attributes of physicians was strongly reinforced in the context of the hagiography and miracle accounts, and they became

distinguishable through the medical attributes they carried. Unlike most other healing saints of the time, they were known only for their medicine. For example they did not turn to asceticism like SS. Cyrus and John. S. Hermolaos was a religious man who converted the doctor S. Panteleimon, SS. Sergius and Bacchus were military officers and S. Stephen was a deacon.

Nonetheless, the occasional suppliant was still not entirely sure to whom he was appealing when he arrived at a cult centre to undergo incubation. In a miracle of the saints, dated to the late sixth or early seventh century, a pagan approached Cosmas and Damian believing them to be indistinguishable from Castor and Pollux. As a result he was ignored by the holy doctors, who went on to aid other patients. They explained to the man that not only did they expect him to understand who they were, but also to understand that they were intercessors before God, a fact he must recognize prior to receiving the healing he desired.⁷⁰⁸

The inclusion of the miracle in the collection indicates this problem was common enough it merited a cautionary tale warning others not to confuse Christian saints with their pagan counterparts and a further warning for them not to confuse the process of intercession by an accessible representative with the direct action of a deity.

In fact explanations of the process of Christian healing and the role played by saints within that process appear regularly in early Christian sources. Gregory of Tours writing on the miracles of the '*sancti medici*' he was careful to always emphasize the role of God as the originator of the power that saints earned

⁷⁰⁸ MCD 9. Festugière, *Collections Greques de Miracles*, 110-112.

through their virtuous existence also explaining that although SS. Cosmas and Damian were doctors, once they had become Christian they healed solely through prayer.⁷⁰⁹ Negative views on secular medicine were common to hagiographic narratives as the failure of conventional options functioned as an essential component of Christian miracle tales in which the saints were generally approached after the possibilities of secular medicine had been exhausted.⁷¹⁰

And yet SS. Cosmas and Damian, along with a number of other early Christian physicians, inhabited a rather unique position balanced between sacred and secular medicine. The emphasis on their training as physicians and the fact that they actually practiced medicine is found throughout the literature. At the same time it was always made clear that the healings were spiritual, predicated upon the belief of the suppliant and achieved through the agency of God.

Although they were not great in number, images of the saints continued to appear in Italy centuries after the cult had first been introduced. Evidence of interest in the cult can be shown through the spread as dedications to the saints from beyond the first points of entry to the entire peninsula by the eleventh century. A significant concentration of dedications exists in the area around Montecassino, Naples and Salerno, an area that had numerous Greek monastic establishments, as well as a strong tradition of monastic medicine. Other anargyros had followings in Italy, the relics of SS. Cyrus and John were housed

⁷⁰⁹ *Miraculorum Lib. I De Gloria Martyrum. Caput XCVIII. De Cosma et Damiano. PL 71, 791.* Lutterbach, "Der Christus Medicus und die Sancti medici," 247-248.

⁷¹⁰ Horden "Saints and Doctors in the Early Byzantine Empire," 10-13. Nutton, "From Galen to Alexander," 5.

in the church of S. Passera in Rome in the ninth century and there was a strong following for S. Panteleimon in Ravello, but none achieved the success Cosmas and Damian had.⁷¹¹

Lay saints were not common in the middle ages and even more unusual were lay saints who did not completely renounce their previous career in favour of a religious life.⁷¹² Although they were martyred in the distant past, SS. Cosmas and Damian's practice of medicine remained the most distinctive aspect of their cult. It was precisely this aspect of their cult that made them, along with S. Luke, foremost patrons for doctors as they emerged as a professional group in Western Europe in the late middle ages.

Correspondingly the iconography of SS. Cosmas and Damian that was apparent in examples from the fourteenth century reflected the appearance of the contemporary physician. This is not exclusive to Cosmas and Damian and is clearly representative of broader developments in Italian art, what is unusual is their strong association with their profession. Only S. Ivo of Kermartin emerges as a direct comparison as his sanctity was linked to his legal profession and he continued to practice after he began his holy life, advocating for the poor until his death in 1253.

The increasing intellectualisation of European society between the twelfth and fourteenth centuries had resulted in the emergence of a professional medical

⁷¹¹ Many of the other early Christian physicians simply did not achieve widespread devotion. Pattengale, *Benevolent Physicians*.

⁷¹² For socio-professional statistics on saints from the year 1000, see Pierre Delooz, *Sociologie et Canonisations* (Lattayel, 1969) 323-374. Weinstein and Bell, *Saints and Society*, 100-120.

community and the practice of medicine at the highest level had become more specialized requiring years of study in a university environment. Of course the university-educated doctors were not representative of the majority of medical practitioners in society, rather they were at the top of a developing hierarchy within the medical profession.⁷¹³ Distinctive elements of clothing were used to distinguish those who had achieved a scholarly degree within the wider community.

The costume of SS. Cosmas and Damian in the Italian paintings examined here reflects the status that was accorded to those who had attained this professional level. The long fur-trimmed robes and berets in rich colours reflected the clothing worn by western European university-educated men between the fourteenth and sixteenth centuries, a group that now included medical doctors, as well as theologians, scholars of the liberal arts and lawyers.⁷¹⁴ In contemporary civic statutes physicians were often included amongst the social groups and professions that were exempted from the increasing numbers of sumptuary regulations and subsequently they were entitled to wear certain types of ornamentation, such as vair and precious stones.⁷¹⁵

As in earlier iconography the medical attributes held by the saints would have been familiar to the contemporary physician, surgeon or pharmacist. In Italian images some uroscopy flasks, popular in other European countries, are

⁷¹³ Ciasca, *L'arte dei medici e speziali*, 285-288. Siraisi, *Medieval & Early Renaissance Medicine*, 31-34.

⁷¹⁴ Hülsen-Esch, "Kleider machen Leute," 225-257.

⁷¹⁵ Killerby, *Sumptuary Law in Italy 1200-1500*, 85, Table 4.2.

included along with other items such as pots for medication, spatulas and books, and the medical box and pincers, the attribute that became an iconographic standard in central Italian painting.

Images of the doctor saints appeared in a number of different contexts and the presentation of the saints, as contemporary physicians, was consistent in all of these works. For example, Cosmas and Damian were included in the devotional images from churches dedicated to the saints in Como, Rimini and Assisi and they appeared as civic patrons of the town of Volterra.

Above all they continued to be associated with their traditional role as miraculous healers demonstrated by the number of votive frescoes and panels in churches. As the surviving images testify their position as generalists allowed them to fulfil many different requests and the flexibility of the attributes they carried prevented any kind of limited categorization that may have occurred had they been tied to a specific pathology. Conversely they did not experience a significant surge in numbers of images produced at times of plague such as plague-specific saints Roch or Sebastian. Nonetheless in the case of SS. Cosma e Damiano at Canoscio near Città di Castello the existing dedication to SS. Cosmas and Damian seems to have naturally attracted more devotion at this time of great medical need with a large number of frescoes, including some of Cosmas and Damian being produced in 1348.

This was the time when the first documented cases of works featuring Cosmas and Damian commissioned by affluent physicians emerge. Of particular

note was the altarpiece painted ca.1446 by Sano di Pietro for the Oratory of the Gesuati in Siena, in which Cosmas and Damian appear in the main panel and their *vita* forms the sole subject of the six scenes of the predella.

The appeal of the saints to doctors is understandable. Whilst being closely associated with the profession in legend and in imagery, as saints, they remained immune from the fluctuations the reputations of medical doctors in this time of recurring epidemics and less than perfect science.⁷¹⁶

The *passio* of SS, Cosmas and Damian written by the humanist doctor Giovanni Garzoni in the second half of the fifteenth century, provides an illuminating look at this relationship. In his introduction to the life Garzoni explains he chose to write on Cosmas and Damian because of their love of medicine “they cherished the medical science”. Further he elaborates that writing on the saints would serve to support the position of medicine within the context of the humanist debate about the relative values of the professions. He points out that although many denigrate medicine, it is a field in which “so many holy men flourished.”⁷¹⁷

This is the only known example of a humanist *vita* penned to support a lay profession and the relationship between saints and lay professions is an area worthy of further research. It is evident that doctors identified with SS. Cosmas

⁷¹⁶ French, *Medicine Before Science*, 127-129. Park, *Doctors and Medicine in Early Renaissance Florence*, 32-46. Siraisi, *Medicine and the Italian Universities*, 160-161. Henderson, “The Black Death in Florence,” 136-150.

⁷¹⁷ BHL 1976d. Alison Frazier’s translation of the preface to Giovanni Garzoni, *Passion of Cosmas and Damian*, Bologna BU MS 1676 f.76v. Frazier, *Italian Humanists as Authors of vitae sanctorum*, 174-175. See also Frazier, *Possible Lives*, 400.

and Damian, patronised their cult and had images of the saints produced at great expense, surely due to the saints' unusual position of being identified as professional doctors themselves.

The late-medieval iconography of SS. Cosmas and Damian was well established by the time the Medici family began to include the saints in images. The cult had remained overwhelmingly connected to the healing tradition and the medical profession and most images of the saints were produced in those contexts. Medici interest in the saints, as intercessors for and protectors of the family, allowed the doctor saints to appear in unfamiliar locations granting them a political prominence not achieved before in the history of the cult and resulted in the creation of a large number of images by well-known artists both inside and outside of Florence.

Evidence of an association with the saints began to appear when the Cafaggiolo branch of the family rose to prominence under the leadership of Giovanni di Bicci de' Medici. This association reached its peak under the auspices of his son Cosimo, who included the saints in a large number of private and public commissions, from the early 1430s until his death in 1464. For example in the innovative high altarpiece for the church at the Dominican convent of San Marco, not only were the saints included in an extremely prominent and unusual position in the main composition, but their legend also formed the subject of the entire predella. At Santa Croce the altarpiece painted by Filippo Lippi for the Novitiate Chapel (the chapel was also dedicated to the saints) included Cosmas

and Damian in positions more prominent than the two Franciscan saints present and again they appear in the accompanying predella by Pesellino.

The question becomes: Can the *longue durée* add anything to such a well-travelled path as Medici commissions? There are some conclusions that can be drawn from examining these works in a different context. It seems clear from the images considered here, which do represent the majority of Trecento and Quattrocento Italian paintings, that there is no evidence of any strong interest in the cult before the time of Giovanni di Bicci. No record of dedications or images linked to the family survive. In fact according to the dedications that have been enumerated there was no strong historic presence in the region of the Mugello or even Tuscany at all.

A small addition can also be made to the arguments surrounding the dating of the Annalena altarpiece. Within his use of the iconography of SS. Cosmas and Damian the appearance of the saints in the altarpiece points to the 1430s as well. In both the main panel and the predella Cosmas and Damian are easily recognizable as they are dressed as fifteenth-century doctors in magenta cloaks and long red vair-trimmed berets. This specific costume appears in one other early work by Fra Angelico, the predella to the altarpiece painted by Angelico in the mid 1420s for the church of San Domenico in Fiesole.⁷¹⁸ This clothing remains essentially the same in Angelico's subsequent works, apart from the long beret, which never reappears. By the time of the San Marco altarpiece

⁷¹⁸ Although the altar was dedicated 1435, seems generally accepted to be painted in the mid-1420s. Cole Ahl, "Fra Angelico: A New Chronology for the 1420s" 360-381. John Pope-Hennessy also says mid 1420s. Pope-Hennessy, *Fra Angelico*, 10-11.

begun ca.1439 the saints wear the more fashionable round beret, not seen in either the altarpiece from Fiesole or the Annalena panel, but very consistent in all later representations of SS. Cosmas and Damian by Angelico. If looked at within the development of Fra Angelico's use of the iconography of SS. Cosmas and Damian the Annalena altarpiece would seem to fit after the painting from Fiesole in which the costume and types have more in common with some of the works discussed in the third chapter.

Consideration of antecedent examples of the hagiography and iconography of SS. Cosmas and Damian can also help illuminate confusion in interpretation meaning of the Annalena and San Marco predelle. William Hood's interpretation of Angelico's predella, which he believes to be designed to emphasize heroic virtues over heroic deeds is proven through a comparison to the contemporary predella Sano di Pietro's Gesuati altarpiece. He believes Angelico achieves his emphasis through scene selection and through detail, the most important of which is the inclusion of Cosmas and Damian's three brothers in the images.

In fact a close look at the scene selection reveals the episode structure and content of the *Golden Legend* rather than the Dominican breviary as the most likely source. The inclusion of the brothers of Cosmas and Damian is clear in the Golden Legend and indeed they also appear in other versions of the same

scenes including those by Sano di Pietro and Mariotto di Nardo.⁷¹⁹ Further Sano does actually include the episode of demonic possession (rather than the scene of the saints being put in the fire as described by Hood) and combines it with the episode of the brothers thrown into the sea in the same way Fra Angelico combined the two parts of the story in the San Marco altarpiece. Although Sano gives the two episodes equal priority whereas Angelico does clearly emphasize the demonic attack.

Sano does indeed devote a full third of his six-part narrative to the miracle of the black leg, which may have been less to do with an emphasis on ‘spectacular deeds’ and more to do with the fact that the money for the altarpiece, intended for the Oratory of the Gesuati in Siena, seems almost certainly to be that donated in 1446 by a doctor called Francesco da Gubbio.⁷²⁰ Sano di Pietro’s emphasis was more likely a response to the interests of his patron rather than difficulty in understanding the text or a choice to highlight heroic deeds over heroic virtues.

It seems accurate and comprehensive storytelling were likely the motivating factors behind Angelico’s choice of events. Within this framework, he could then emphasize parts of the story that were important to Dominican theology. For example Fra Angelico does highlight the episode of demonic possession and it cannot be coincidence that the biblical passage in the main

⁷¹⁹ In the Taddeo di Bartolo panel, which represents only the stoning of SS. Cosmas and Damian, the brothers not be included. This is in accordance with the legend that describes the brothers being brought out for the shooting of arrows specifically.

⁷²⁰ Freuler, “Sienese Quattrocento Painting in the Service of Spiritual Propaganda,” 81-98.

panel is Christ's directive about teaching, important to the Dominicans, that includes casting out devils. Angelico's careful portrayal of the detail of the narrative as found in the *Golden Legend* must have been influenced by the ideas of Antonino Pierozzi, prior of San Marco from 1436 who was concerned about the propriety of religious painting, and particularly emphasized the accurate representation of the text when relating the legends of saints.⁷²¹ Through Angelico's very careful attention to detail and accuracy in interpreting the legend as he knew it he created a *vita* in images and he was able to communicate a message appropriate to the Order as well satisfying the requirements of the patron.

In discussing the Novitiate altarpiece Megan Holmes interprets the attribute held by Cosmas as a pen and then presumes it to function as a 'signature' symbolising his authorship and patronage.⁷²² Indeed, rather than a pen regional antecedents reveal the attribute to be pincers (usually with medical box) to be the most commonly presented attributes of the saints.

Dale Kent, discussing the same work, concludes that the subject of the predella speaks specifically about to Cosimo's personal culture and patronage because Cosmas and Damian are shown at moment of their martyrdom and shown healing Emperor Justinian. This would then recall to the viewer the references in popular literature to the Medici family as healers of Florence's political ills and evokes would Justinian's image as the personification of

⁷²¹ Instructions to painters from his *Summa Theologica* written after he became archbishop 1446. Gilbert, "The Archbishop on the Painters of Florence," 75-89.

⁷²² Holmes, *Fra Filippo Lippi*, 195.

classical and Christian traditions of law, justice and good government.⁷²³ Of course it is clear in the hagiography that the miracle of the black leg is not actually about Emperor Justinian, in most texts of the time, including the *Golden Legend*, the recipient of the miracle is described as a loyal servant of the church of SS. *Cosma e Damiano* in Rome. He is sometimes named as the Deacon Justinian but this becomes more common in later centuries. The choice of scenes is unlikely to be a specific comment on the Medici family as these two scenes were the two most represented in the Life of SS. Cosmas and Damian and there were several contemporary examples of them in Florence.

It is asserted in all these interpretations that the Medici altered the iconography to suit their political and dynastic message. Through a look at other images of SS. Cosmas and Damian it becomes clear that the identification of the saints with the family was not achieved through altering the iconography and it is clear that the appearance of the saints in Medici paintings remains consistent with other non-Medicean images from the same period. The saints are portrayed as contemporary physicians in red vair trimmed cloaks and berets. They hold medical and pharmaceutical instruments as well as attributes relating to their martyrdom. The effect of the Medici adoption of the iconography did however result in less variation in imagery in Florence and its dependent territories by providing a dominant iconographic model.

⁷²³ Kent believes the scenes from St. Anthony's life are also relevant. Anthony preaching at the Miser's funeral talks about wealth and the importance giving to charity. D. Kent, *Cosimo de' Medici*, 148

In fact the family produced a large number of images by important artists in prominent locations. In this way images of the saints did attain increased artistic importance and more attention was lavished on them than had occurred before in Italian painting. The presence of SS. Cosmas and Damian in so many different commissions had the effect of consolidating the association between the family and the saints in the public imagination.

Of course the images were only one aspect of the family's devotion to the saints a devotion that was reinforced by other means such as the rededication of the high altar at the convent of San Marco and the establishment of chapels in prominent churches including San Lorenzo and Santa Croce.⁷²⁴ Provision for services in the name of SS. Cosmas and Damian was made in all these places amongst others and the family's commitment to the celebration of the feast day of the doctors on September 27 was well known both within Florence and elsewhere including at branches of the Medici bank throughout Europe. Indeed, Francesco Castiglione, writing in 1464, describes Cosimo de' Medici as paying for the annual celebration of SS. Cosmas and Damian in nearly all of Florence's churches.⁷²⁵ The popularity of celebrations of the feast of SS. Cosmas and Damian amongst citizens could act as an indicator of family status at any given time.⁷²⁶ In this way Medici devotion had the effect of giving SS. Cosmas and

⁷²⁴ There may have been a Medici chapel dedicated to the saints at the Duomo. References are from after Cosimo's lifetime. F.W. Kent, "Lorenzo de' Medici at the Duomo," in Timothy Verdon and Annalisa Innocenti eds., *La cattedrale e la città: saggi sul duomo di Firenze. Atti del VII centenario del Duomo di Firenze I* (Florence, 2001) 341-368, 343.

⁷²⁵ "...per omnia fere civitatis templa celebrari..." Biblioteca Laurenziana Ms Plut. 53, 11, fol. 13. Webb, *Patrons and Defenders*, 236-237, n.169.

⁷²⁶ Trexler, *Public Life in Renaissance Florence*, 422-423.

Damian a civic and political relevance not customary to the cult in the past, and yet it was not until the early sixteenth century, beyond the scope of this study, that the political climate was such that the feast of SS. Cosmas and Damian was celebrated as a state event in Florence.⁷²⁷

The relationship between the family and their saints was clearly understood as a way of attracting Medici patronage and conversely for the family, a way of insinuating their influence into new places. There are a number of surviving letters asking the Medici for money based on their attachment to SS. Cosmas and Damian. The portrayal of patron saints in a work of art was usually combined with the support of services and institutions linked to the saints, placing them time and again in front of the religious who were to pray for them, encouraging intercession and favour. The commemorative function of patronage worked to promote the identity and position of the family as well as benefiting their souls for decades and hopefully centuries to come.⁷²⁸

Indeed a real concern for salvation was always bound up in such charitable donations. At San Marco, Vespasiano da Bisticci wrote that Cosimo, anxious for God to pardon him for the manner in which he had accumulated his wealth, agreed to undertake the entire rebuilding of the convent at the suggestion of Pope Eugenius IV. This understanding, of the donation as a votive gift, is echoed in the position of the figures of SS. Cosmas and Damian in the main

⁷²⁷ By the time of Lorenzo the Magnificent's son Giuliano (Pope Leo X) there was no fear of arrogance and in 1513 the saints' feast was celebrated with a formal procession followed by the signoria. Trexler, *Public Life in Renaissance Florence*, 505.

⁷²⁸ Henderson, *The Renaissance Hospital*, 117-118.

altarpiece, as well as the composition including S. Cosmas in Cosimo's private cell, which are strongly reminiscent of votive portraits.

The effect of Medici interest on the iconography of SS. Cosmas and Damian was considerable. They adopted an existing iconography and promoted it through the repeated use of images of the saints in their patronage projects within Florence and further afield. In the Medici images, the saints were so far removed from their traditional context that for a time their natural connection to healing and medicine was temporarily secondary to their role as patrons of the Medici and yet it seems that the medical association was still appreciated by the family and not lost on their audience, with references to them as the doctors of Florence appearing in correspondence.

In Florence itself Medici domination of the iconography meant that from the 1430s through to the end of Cosimo's life there are no surviving non-Medicean images of SS. Cosmas and Damian and panels such as the Alessandri Altarpiece are thought to have been produced as a statement of allegiance to the Medici.⁷²⁹ It has been hypothesized that this sort of complete identification would not have been possible with saints that already had strong civic connections or with saints that were already identified with another important family leading to the conclusion that the choice of SS. Cosmas and Damian was part of a deliberate

⁷²⁹ The nearest example is the Chellini Chapel completed by the doctor Giovanni Chellini between 1456 and 1460 just outside of Florence in San Miniato al Tedesco.

family strategy of self-promotion.⁷³⁰ Certainly the choice of a more unusual cult without existing civic associations helped to cement the identification with the family.

From the emergence of the saints as competitors and replacements to pagan deities through their identification with late medieval professionals, Cosmas and Damian were consistently known as physicians and healers. This consistency, also apparent in the hagiography, has always shaped their iconography with their identity as doctors as the defining characteristic of their cult. As the iconography emerged the appearance of the saints reflected that of contemporary doctors, distinct from representations of the pagan healing Gods. In the fourteenth century their appearance changed to reflect the costume of the professional physician and Cosmas and Damian emerged as subjects of the patronage of individual doctors. Medici interest promoted the iconography of the doctors to a political and civic importance in Florence that certainly did not exist previously in the history of the cult. Their adoption of SS. Cosmas and Damian as family patrons created completely different associations for the saints acting as a reminder of the power and generosity of the family as a whole and more specifically of Cosimo di Giovanni whose identity was most closely linked to the doctors.

⁷³⁰ D. Kent, *Cosimo de' Medici*, 141-142. Parallels can be drawn to Piero di Cosimo's use of S. Peter Martyr as a patron. Catherine Lawless, "Myth, Ritual and Orthodoxy: Cosimo de' Medici and Saint Peter Martyr" *Cultural and Social History* 2 (2005) 273-300.

Appendix A: Saints Cosmas and Damian

Cosmas and Damian were brothers, born of a pious mother, Theodoche by name, in the city of Egea. They learned the art of medicine, and received such grace from the Holy Spirit that they cure the illnesses not only of men and women but of animals, not taking any payment for their services. A lady named Palladia, however, who had spent all she had on doctors, came to the saints and by them was fully restored to health. She therefore offered a modest gift to Saint Damian and, when he declined to accept it, appealed to him with solemn oaths. He then accepted the gift, not that he was greedy for the money but to satisfy the donor's kind intention, as well as to avoid seeming to dishonour the name of the Lord, since the woman had adjured him in that name. When Saint Cosmas learned of this, he gave orders that his body was not to be buried with his brother's, but the following night the Lord appeared to Cosmas and explained Damian's reason for his action.

Word of the brothers' fame reached Lisias, the proconsul, and he had them summoned and asked them their names, their native land, and their possessions. The holy martyrs replied: "Our names are Cosmas and Damian; we have three brothers named Antimas, Leontius, and Euprepus; Arabia is our homeland; and as for earthly fortunes, Christians do not acquire them." The proconsul ordered them to fetch their brothers, and then to sacrifice to the idols together.

When the five brothers unanimously refused to sacrifice, Lusias commanded that they be tormented in their hands and feet. They made light of these torments, and he ordered them to be bound with chains and thrown into the sea, but at once they were drawn out by an angel and set before the judge. This official gave thought to the matter and said: "By the great gods, it is by sorcery that you conquer, because you mock at torments and calm the sea! Therefore teach me your magic arts, and in the name of the god Adrian I will follow you." No sooner had he said this than two demons appeared and struck him in the face with great force, and he cried out: "I beg you, good men, to pray for me to your God!" They prayed, and the demons disappeared.

The judge said: "You see how angry the gods are with me because I thought of leaving them. Now therefore I will not suffer you to blaspheme my gods!" He ordered them to be thrown into a huge fire, but the flame not only left the martyrs unharmed, but leapt out and slew many bystanders. The brothers were then stretched on the rack, but their guardian angel kept them uninjured, and the torturers, tired of beating them, returned them to the judge. He in turn had three of the brothers put back in prison, but ordered Cosmas and Damian to be crucified and stoned by the crowd. The stones turned back upon the throwers and wounded a great number. The judge, now beside himself with rage, had the three brothers brought out and ranged around the cross, while four soldiers shot arrows at Cosmas and Damian, still crucified; but the arrows turned and struck many, while the holy martyrs remained untouched. The judge, defeated at every turn,

was at death's door from frustration and had the five brothers beheaded in the morning. The Christians, remembering what Saint Cosmas had said about not burying him with Damian, wondered how the martyrs wanted to be buried, when suddenly a camel appeared on the scene, spoke in a human voice, and ordered the saints to be entombed in one place. They suffered under Diocletian, who began to reign about A.D. 287.

A peasant, after hours of working at the harvest, fell asleep in the field with his mouth open, and a snake slipped into his mouth, and down to his belly. The man woke up and felt nothing, and went on home, but by evening suffered severe pains in the stomach. He uttered pitiful cries and invoked the aid of Cosmas and Damian, saints of God, but the pain grew worse and he ran to the church of the holy martyrs. There he suddenly fell asleep, and the snake slipped out of his mouth as it had slipped in.

A man who was about to set out on a long journey commended his wife to the care of the holy martyrs Cosmas and Damian, and gave her a sign that she could rely on if at any time he called her. Afterwards the devil, knowing the sign the husband had given, got himself up as a man, showed the woman the sign, and said: "Your husband sent me to you from that city to conduct you to him." She was afraid to go, and said: "I recognize the sign, but I am commended to the holy martyrs Cosmas and Damian, so you must swear to me on their altar that you will take me safely to him." The devil immediately swore as requested. The woman went with him, and when they came to a secluded spot, the devil wanted to throw

her off her horse and kill her. When she felt danger coming, she exclaimed: “O God of saints Cosmas and Damian, help me! I trusted them and followed this man!” Instantly the saints appeared with a host of men clad in white and set the woman free. The devil vanished. They said to her: “We are Cosmas and Damian, in whom you trusted, and we hurried to come to your assistance.”

Pope Felix, a predecessor of Saint Gregory, built a noble church in Rome in honour of Saints Cosmas and Damian. In this church there was a man, a devoted servant of the holy martyrs. One of the man’s legs was totally consumed by a cancer. While he was asleep, the two saints appeared to their devoted servant, bringing salves and surgical instruments. One of them said to the other: “Where can we get flesh to fill in where we cut away the rotted leg?” The other said: “Just today an Ethiopian was buried in the cemetery of Saint Peter in Chains. Go and take his leg, and we’ll put it in the place of the bad one.” So he sped to the cemetery and brought back the Moor’s leg, and the two saints cut off the sick man’s leg and inserted the Moor’s leg in its place, carefully anointing the wound. Finally they took the amputated leg and attached to the body of the dead Moor.

The man woke up, felt no pain, put his hand to his leg, and detected no lesion. He held a candle to the leg and could see nothing wrong with it, and began to wonder whether he was himself or somebody else. Then he came to his senses, bounded joyfully from his bed, and told everyone about what he had seen in his dreams and how he had been healed. They sent at once to the Moor’s tomb, and

found that his leg had indeed been cut off and the aforesaid man's limb put in its place in the tomb.⁷³¹

⁷³¹ The translation is based on the text published by Th. Graesse in 1850 with some additions from other fifteenth-century manuscripts. Jacobus de Voragine, "143. Saints Cosmas and Damian," *The Golden Legend: Readings on the Saints* II, trans. William Granger Ryan (Princeton, 1993) 196-198.

Appendix B: Working list of dedications to SS. Cosmas and Damian until 1400.

	Region	Location/ Diocese	Name of Church	Date	Entry/reference	Notes	Bibliography
1	Venetia- Histria Dalmatia	Padova	Ss. Cosme et Damiani Teiedi de Supra	1300- 1400 (fragm ents)	Padova. Fragments of Decime from 13th to 14th C. Ecclesia Ss. Cosme et Damiani		Rationes Decimarum. Venetiae-Histria 1686
			Ss. Cosme et Damiani Teiedi de Supra	1297	Padova, Decima 1297. Plebes Ss. Cosme et Damiani Teiedi de Supra. Presbiter Petrus dicte ecclesie.(in margin: excusatus) Item pro secundo termino.		Rationes Decimarum. Venetiae-Histria 2694
2	Venetia- Histria Dalmatia	Torcello	Ss. Cosme et Damiani de Maiorbio	1296- 1297	Torcello, Decima 1296-1297. Dominus presbiter Nicolaus mazaporco rector ecclesie Ss. Cosme et Damiani de Maiorbio in primo termino secundi anni dicte concessionis solvit sol. triginta den. parv. cum protestatione in meo quaterno posita. Item in secundo termino dicti anni solvit sol. triginta duos den. parv.		Rationes Decimarum. Venetiae-Histria 3584
3	Venetia- Histria Dalmatia	Zara	Ss. Cosme et Damiani de Iadra	1333- 1334	Zara, Decima 1333-1334. Item, die XVIII decembris, Raynirius quondam Bersi Varitassi de Iadra et Dominicus clericus S. Marci de Iadra per manus domini Petri de Brixia vicarii domini patriarche gradensis, pro fructibus unius anni Ss. Cosme et Damiani de Iadra, vacantis in biennali reservatione per mortem presbiteri Stephani olim dicte ecclesie plebani, assignavit X flor.		Rationes Decimarum.Venetia e-Histria 3650
			Ss. Cosme et Damiani de Iadra	1372- 1376	Zara, introiti 1372-1376. In partibus Dalmacie. Item recepi a domno abate Ss. Cosme et Damiani iadrensis dioceses pro primis fructibus et annata dicti sui beneficii, sibi apostolica auctoritate collati, duc. XXX.		Rationes Decimarum. Venetiae-Histria 3665
			Ss. Cosme et Damiani de Iadra	1372- 1376	Eodem anno et eodem die XXV iunii recepi e fratre Petro abate monasterii Ss. Cosme et Damiani iadrensis dioceses pro primo et secundo terminis primi anni dicte decime biennalis, duc. XLVII sol. XXXII.		Rationes Decimarum. Venetiae-Histria 3674
4	Venetia- Histria Dalmatia	Arbe	Ss. Ioannis, Cosme et Damiani arbensium	1336	Arbe, introiti 1336. Die XVIII agusti, dominus Franciscus archiepiscopus ravennas, olim canonicus Arbensis, rector ecclesiam Ss. Ioannis, Cosme et Damiani arbensium pro fructibus dictorum canonicatus ecclesiarum, post consecrationem eius receptis, anno Domini MIIIc XXXV per manus domini Andree comitis		Rationes Decimarum. Venetiae-Histria 3689

					arbensis assignavit XXIII lib. bag.		
			Ss. Ioannis, Cosme et Damiani arbensium	1339	Arbe, introiti 1339. Item idem dominus Episcopus pro fructibus anni predicti capelle Ss. Cosme et Damiani arbensis apud sedem apostolicam vacantis ut supre assignavit III lib. et VI sol. bag.		Rationes Decimarum. Venetiae-Histria 3693
5	Veneto	Altino/Altinese	S. Etienne, SS. Cosmas and Damian	876		Abbot Dominicus from this Benedictine abbey was promoted to bishop of Torcello. Monastery was transferred to island of Ammiana in the 10th C and united to monastery of SS. Felix and Fortunato	Cottineau I, 70
6	Venetia	Venice	SS. Cosma e Damiano, Giudecca	1481		Benedictine	Cottineau II, 3321
7	Dalmatia	Zara	SS. Cosma e Damiano de Regno	1513-1521	Mentioned Leo X	Benedictine men, not sure when established	Cottineau II, 2424.
8	Lombardia et Pedemontium	Pavia	Sancti Damiani de Sachetis	1321-1324	Pavia 1321-1324, in Porta Marencha. Ecclesia Sancti Damiani de Sachetis, included with two others as: pro ipsis presbiter Bertolinus solvit. Die XXII decembris pro decima ipsarum ecclesiarum pro primo termino dicti anni sol VI.		Rationes Decimarum. Lombardia et Pedemontium 221
9	Lombardia et Pedemontium	Pavia	Sancti Damiani de Sayrano	1321-1324	Pavia 1321-1324. Ecclesia Sancti Damiani de Sayrano. Pro ipsa presbiter Guilielmus minister eiusdem ecclesie solvit pro decima ipsius ecclesie die XX iulii pro primo termino anni predicti sol. X pap.		Rationes Decimarum. Lombardia et Pedemontium 322
10	Lombardia et Pedemontium	Brescia	Sanctorum Cosme et Damiani	9th C	Louis II privilege to Abbess Amalberga	Benedictine women. Demolished 13th C, rebuilt and in 1495 subject to abbey of SS. Faustina	Cottineau I, 488
			Monastero SS. Cosma e Damiano	9th C		Series of 12th century documents available	Patrizia Merati, ed. Codice diplomatico della Lombardia medievale (secoli VIII-XII) [http://cdlm.unipv.it/edizioni/bs/brescia-sscosmadamiano/]

			Sanctorum Cosme et Damiani	1313-1319	Brescia 1313-1319. Item pro monasterio Sanctorum Cosme et Damiani assignavit IX lib. imp.		Rationes Decimarum. Lombardia et Pedemontium 653
11	Lombardia et Pedemontium	Mantova	Sancti Damiani	1295-1298	Mantova 1295-1298. Presbiter Marchalbrunus Sancti Damiani. Item pro secundo termino.		Rationes Decimarum. Lombardia et Pedemontium 1320
12	Lombardia et Pedemontium	Vercelli	Sanctorum Cosme et Damiani de Cynagio	1354-1357	Vercelli 1354-1357. Presbiter Facius rector ecclesie Sanctorum Cosme et Damiani de Cynagio.		Rationes Decimarum. Lombardia et Pedemontium 1410
13	Lombardy	Como	SS. Cosma e Damiano (part of S. Abbondio)	1010		Benedictine abbey (men)	Cottineau I, 848
			SS. Cosma e Damiano (part of S. Abbondio)	1208		Small church of SS. Cosma e Damiano was part of the monastic complex of S. Abbondio recorded from 1208 as a dependent, probably 11th C	Mina Gregori, Pittura a Como e nel Canton Ticino dal Mille al Settecento. (Milano, 1994), 258-9
14	Lombardy	Dovera (Cremona)	S. Damiano de Dovaria, then SS. Cosma e Damiano Lodi	12th C		Benedictine women est. by counts of Bergamo, diocese of Cremona, trans. 1471 to town of Lodi, monastery of SS. Cosma e Damiano	Cottineau I, 997, 1640.
15	Liguria/Piedmonte	Genova	SS. Cosma e Damiano	1049 (6th-7th?)		Current church preceded by one or more churches back to the 6th – 7th C. At the beginning of the millennium the titular saint was just Damian, they have a document from 1049	Chierici, Sandro and Diulio Citi, Il Piemonte, La Val d'Aosta, etc. V2 of Italia Romanica, 430
16	Ticino	Mendrisio	SS. Cosma e Damiano	1323		Church mentioned 1275, documented 1323	
17	Aemilia	Ferrara?	SS. Gosme et Damiani de Trecenta		Plebes SS. Gosme et Damiani de Trecenta cuius est archipresbiter dominus...(blank)		Rationes Decimarum. Aemilia 485
18	Aemilia	Cesena	S. Damiani	1291	Cesena 1291. Presbiter Tadeus rector ecclesie S. Damiani nichil.		Rationes Decimarum. Aemilia 1382
19	Aemilia	Forlimpopoli	S. Damiano	1290	Forlimpopoli 1290. mentions domino Bulgaro de S, Damiano et aliis.		Rationes Decimarum. Aemilia 1496
20	Aemilia	Bologna	S. Damiani de ponte fari/ pontem ferri	1300	Bologna 1300. Under Monasteria et pia loca civitatis bonoie et dioceses. Donnus Geremias prior monasterii S. Damiani de ponte fari solvit octo lib. decem octo sol. bon.		Rationes Decimarum. Aemilia 2384

			S. Damiani de ponte fari/ pontem ferri	c.1007		SS. Come et Damien, Camaldolite monastery from c.1007 ad pontem ferri	Rationes Decimarum. Cottineau I, 414
21	Aemilia	Bologna	S. Gosme et Damiani de Peola	1300	Bologna 1300. De plebatu Santi Vicenzii. Don Lambertus rector ecclesie S. Gosme et Damiani de Peola excusavit.		Rationes Decimarum. Aemilia 2605
			S. Gosme et Damiani de Peola		Item ut clericus ecclesie S. Gosme et Damiani solvit viginti sol. bon. (maybe the same as above?)		Rationes Decimarum. Aemilia 2607
22	Aemilia	Bologna	S. Damiani de Burdonovo	1300	Bologna 1300. Ecclesie exemtie que non subsunt alicui plebatui. Iohannes procurator donni Alberti rectoris ecclesie S. Damiani de Burdonovo excusavit.		Rationes Decimarum. Aemilia 3035
23	Aemilia	Parma	S. Dalmiani in plebe S. Eulalie	1230	Parma 1230. ecclesiarum que sunt matrici ecclesia et sub canonicis eiusdem. Ecclesie S. Dalmiani in plebe S. Eulalie: III lib. et XIII sol. et dim. parm.		Rationes Decimarum. Aemilia 3959
			S. Dalmiani in plebe S. Eulalie	1299	Parma 1299. Ecclesie monasterii S. Quintini. Ecclesie S. Damiani die XXJ marzii pro primo et secundo termino primi anni solvit lib. unam sol. octo imp.		Rationes Decimarum. Aemilia 4634
			S. Dalmiani in plebe S. Eulalie	1299	Parma 1299. Capelle S. Donini de Burgo. Ecclesia S. Dalmiani.		Rationes Decimarum. Aemilia 4798
24	Tuscia	Arezzo	SS. Cosme et Damiani de Lignano	1274-1275	Arezzo 1274-1275. Hermitorium di Lignano.		Rationes Decimarum. Tuscia I 1607
			SS. Cosme et Damiani de Lignano	1278-1279	Arezzo 1278-1279. Hermitorium SS. Cosme et Damiani de Lignano.		Rationes Decimarum. Tuscia I 2162
			SS. Cosme et Damiani de Lignano	1302-1303	Arezzo 1302-1303. Hermus. S. Cosme et Damiani (n. de Lignano).		Rationes Decimarum. Tuscia II 2081
25	Tuscia	Pisa	SS. Cosme et Damiani	1276-1277	Pisa 1276-1277. Ecclesia SS. Cosme et Damiani is missing as the rector Iacopo is the collector in Pisa.		Rationes Decimarum. Tuscia I p.184, n.2
			SS. Cosme et Damiani	1296-1297	Pisa 1296-1297. Eccl. Ss. Cosme et Damiani.		Rationes Decimarum. Tuscia II 3518
			SS. Cosme et Damiani	1258		Document that mentions church/chapel	Tolaini, Emilio. Forma Pisarum. 148, says see Bonaini
			SS. Cosme et Damiani	11th C		Church erected, destroyed in the war rebuilt 1962	Tolaini, Emilio. Forma Pisarum. 79
26	Tuscia	Arezzo	S. Cosme et Damiani	1302-1303	Arezzo 1302-1303. Eccl. S. Cosme et Damiani.		Rationes Decimarum. Tuscia II 1890
27	Tuscia	Siena?	Ss. Cosme et Damiani.		Still under Arezzo, but those enti that paid in the city of Siena. Eccl. Ss. Cosme et Damiani. Nothing appears in the Siena section proper.		Rationes Decimarum. Tuscia II 2384

28	Marchia	Pesaro	S. Damiani	1290-1292	Pesaro 1290-1292. Item a dompno Francisco rectore S. Damiani xxxvi sol.		Rationes Decimarum. Marchia 70
			S. Damiani	1290-1292	Pesaro 1290-1292. Quadraginta sol. die predicta confessi recepisce a Dato familiare dompni Francisci rectoris S. Damiani solvente nomine ipsius dompni Francisci pro redditibus et proventibus ipsius ecclesie, presentibus dominis Rogerio et Aldrevando canonicis pensauriensibus testibus.		Rationes Decimarum. Marchia 174
29	Marchia	Pesaro	S. Damiani de Monte Piloso/de Tumba Montis Pilosi	1290-1292	Pesaro 1290-1292. Item a predicto domino preposito dante pro dompno Romano rectore S. Damiani de Monte Piloso confessus fuit recipisse officialis predictus xx sol.		Rationes Decimarum. Marchia 254
			S. Damiani de Monte Piloso/de Tumba Montis Pilosi	1290-1292	Pesaro 1290-1292. Eodem die loco et testibus predictis presentibus. Confessi fuerunt predicti officialis recepisce a domino Benvenuto predicto solvente pro dompno Romano presbitero S. Damiani de Tumba Montis Pilosi xxv sol et vi den.		Rationes Decimarum. Marchia 338
			S. Damiani de Monte Piloso/de Tumba Montis Pilosi	1300	Pesaro 1300...dompni Neri et dompni Romani rectorum ecclesiarum S. Danielis de Sanguineto et S. Damiani de Tumba Montis Pilosi...		Rationes Decimarum. Marchia 394
30	Marchia	Senigallia	S. Cosme	1290-1292	Senigalla 1290-1292. Ecclesia S. Cosme. Solvit die VI exeunte iunio Petrus pro dompno Alevolo rectore eiusdem...		Rationes Decimarum. Marchia 1254
31	Marchia	Urbino	S. Damiani	1290-1291	Urbino 1290-1291. De Plebatu S. Andree. Ecclesia S. Damiani xiii lib et x sol.		Rationes Decimarum. Marchia 1754
			S. Damiani	1290-1291	Urbino 1290-1291. De Plebatu S. Andree. Ecclesia S. Damiani xiii lib et x sol.		Rationes Decimarum. Marchia 1755
			S. Damiani	1290-1291	Urbino 1290-1291. De Plebatu S. Cassiani. Ecclesia S. Damiani XLVI sol. <pro> primo et secundo termino eiusdem anni.		Rationes Decimarum. Marchia 1931
			S. Damiani	1290-1291	Urbino 1290-1291. Plebes S. Andree in Budrio. Ecclesia S. Damiani XL sol.		Rationes Decimarum. Marchia 2230
			S. Damiani	1299	Urbino 1299. Duos flor. auri, viginti quatuor sol. quatuor den. solvit dompnus Conte rector ecclesie S. Damiani die predicta loco et testibus.		Rationes Decimarum. Marchia 2557
32	Marchia	Fossombrone	S. Damiani	1290-1292	Fossombrone 1290-1292. Dompnus Parte/Parle presbiter et rector ecclesie S. Damiani...		Rationes Decimarum. Marchia 2899
			S. Damiani	1299 (or 1303)	Fossombrone 1299 (or 1303)...dompno Parte rectore ecclesie S. Damiani...		Rationes Decimarum. Marchia 3053

			S. Damiani		mentions Dompnus Parte of S. Damiani...		Rationes Decimarum. Marchia p.245, n.
			S. Damiani	1303	Fossombrone 1303...dompno Parte presbitero ecclesie S. Damiani...		Rationes Decimarum. Marchia 3079
33	Marchia	Ancona	SS. Cosme et Damiani	1290-1292	Ancona 1290-1292. Die dico actum in foro comunis Anconitani, presentibus Petro Bonaventure, Nicola Stephani testibus dictus dominus Giffredus canonicus confitetur recepisse pro se et dicto dompno Iohanne eius Socio a dompno priore SS. Cossme et Damiani predicta occasione decime, renunciando etc. iiii lib et xviii sol.		Rationes Decimarum. Marchia 3159
			SS. Cosme et Damiani	1290-1292	Ancona 1290-1292. Die dicto in ecclesia episcopatus anconitani precentibus Christiano Nicole et Zanneto Leonardi testibus, dictus Giffredus canonicus confitetur recepisse pro se et dicto suo socio a dompno Matheo priore SS. Cosme et Damiani pro sua decima dicti temporis iii lib xv sol et viii den.		Rationes Decimarum. Marchia 3420
			SS. Cosme et Damiani	1290-1292	Ancona 1290-1292. Item die dicto loco et testibus dicti officials receperunt et habuerunt a Puctio famulo prioris SS. Cosme et Damiani dante et solvente pro ipso priore pro decima dicti temporis xiiii sol et viii den.		Rationes Decimarum. Marchia 3496
			SS. Cosme et Damiani	1300	Ancona 1300. Die dicto loco et testibus dompnus Nicolaus prior SS. Cosme et Damiani solvit pro suo prioratu dictis collectoribus prestito ab eo iuramento ut supra iii lib x sol.		Rationes Decimarum. Marchia 3577
34	Marchia	Ancona	S Damiani de Pulvensio	1300	Ancona. 1300. dompnus Thomas prior S Damiani de Pulvensio...		Rationes Decimarum. Marchia 3555
35	Marchia	Fermo	S. Cosme Damiani	1290-1292	Fermo 1290-1292. Item a domno Francisco cappellano ecclesie S. Cosme Damiani iii lib et xvi sol.		Rationes Decimarum. Marchia 5749
			S. Cosme Damiani	1290-1292	Fermo 1290-1292. Item a domno Matheo de S. Cosme...		Rationes Decimarum. Marchia 6494
			S. Cosme Damiani	1290-1292	Fermo 1290-1292. Item pro quibusdam scolaribus S. Cosme xviii den.		Rationes Decimarum. Marchia 6506
			S. Cosme Damiani	1290-1292	Fermo 1290-1292. Item a domino Francisco cappellano ecclesie S. Cosme de Firmo L sol.		Rationes Decimarum. Marchia 6702
			S. Cosme Damiani	1290-1292	Fermo 1290-1292. Item a domno Francisco cappellano ecclesie S. Cosme xiii sol.		Rationes Decimarum. Marchia 6867
			S. Cosme Damiani	1290-1292	same		Rationes Decimarum. Marchia 6981

			S. Cosme Damiani	1290-1292	Fermo 1290-1292. Item a domno Francisco ecclesie S. Spiritus pro S Cosme xviii sol.	Rationes Decimarum. Marchia 7210
			S. Cosme Damiani		Domnus Lanza Cappellanus ecclesie S. Cosme de Firmo cum iuramento extimavit XV lib.	Rationes Decimarum. Marchia 7467
36	Umbria	Città di Castello	SS. Cosme et Damiani.	1349	Città di Castello 1349. De Plebatu de Camusio. Plebatus de Camusio SS. Cosme et Damiani.	Rationes Decimarum. Umbria 275
37	Umbria	Perugia	S.Damiani de Fracta	1332-1334	Perugia 1332-1334. Item recepi a domino Angelo rectore ecclesie S.Damiani de Fracta pro dicto termino. (de Fracta/Barca della Fratticciola in index diff, from Fracta Bicci de Lacu 1351, 1393, 1757, 2216)	Rationes Decimarum. Umbria 922
			S.Damiani de Fracta	1332-1334	Perugia 1332-1334...dompno Angelo rectore ecclesie S. Damiani.	Rationes Decimarum. Umbria 1039
			S.Damiani de Fracta	1332-1334	Perugia 1332-1334...Angelo rectore ecclesie S. Damiani de Fracta Bezzis	Rationes Decimarum. Umbria 1351
			S.Damiani de Fracta	1332-1334	Perugia 1332-1334...Angelus rector ecclesie S. Damiani de Fracta Beccis de Lacu.	Rationes Decimarum. Umbria 1393
			S.Damiani de Fracta	1332-1334	Perugia 1332-1334...Angelus rector ecclesie S. Damiani de Fracta Bicci de Lacu.	Rationes Decimarum. Umbria 1757
			S.Damiani de Fracta	1332-1334	Perugia 1332-1334...ecclesia S. Damiani de Lacu solvit dompnus Angelus rector...	Rationes Decimarum. Umbria 2216
38	Umbria	Perugia	S. Damiani de Libiano	1332-1334	Perugia 1332-1334...Iohanne notario domini episcopi perusini solvente pro domno Raynerio rectore ecclesie S. Damiani de Libiano.	Rationes Decimarum. Umbria 991
			S. Damiani de Libiano	1332-1334	Perugia 1332-1334...ser Salmone solvente pro dompno Raynerio rectore ecclesie S. Damiani de Libiano.	Rationes Decimarum. Umbria 1382
			S. Damiani de Libiano	1332-1334	Perugia 1332-1334...Raynerius rector ecclesie S. Damiani de Villa Libiani.	Rationes Decimarum. Umbria 1656
			S. Damiani de Libiano	1332-1334	Perugia 1332-1334...mentions Raynieri rector of S. Damiani membri monasterii S. Petri de Perusio solvit pro dicto termino...	Rationes Decimarum. Umbria 2039
			S. Damiani de Libiano	1332-1334	Perugia 1332-1334...ecclesia S. Damiani de porta Solis Perusii...Raynerius rector...(maybe different?)	Rationes Decimarum. Umbria 2341
39	Umbria	Nocera Umbra	S. Damiani de Saxoferrato	1333	Nocera Umbra 1333. Item habui a dompno Bernardo solvente pro ecclesia S. Damiani VIII sol. VIII den. rav.	Rationes Decimarum. Umbria 3899
			S. Damiani de Saxoferrato	1334	Nocera Umbra 1334. Rector ecclesie S. Damiani de Saxoferrato....	Rationes Decimarum. Umbria 4340
			S. Damiani de Saxoferrato	1334	Nocera Umbra 1334. Rector S. Damiani de Saxoferrato XV	Rationes Decimarum. Umbria

					sol. VIII den. cor.		4514
40	Umbria	Todi	S. Damiani	1299-1302	Todi 1299-1302. Donus Iacobus rector ecclesie S. Damiani solvit pro decima in dicto termino...		Rationes Decimarum. Umbria 10450
41	Umbria	Perouse	S. Damiano de Portu regio	nd		diocese of Perouse	Cottineau II, 2344 (see L. Jacobilli III, 280; Lubin, 307)
			S. Damiani	1299-1302	Todi 1299-1302. ...dominus Iacobus rector ecclesie S. Damiani...		Rationes Decimarum. Umbria 10500
42	Umbria	Narni	SS. Cosmae et Damiani	1217		monastery, in terra Arnolphorum. Letter Honorius III	Cottineau II, 2640. Pressutti, n.711
43	Aprutium - Molisium	Aquila	S. Cosme de Cambiano	1327	Aquila 1327.Ecclesia S. Cosme de Cambiano procuratio integra.		Rationes Decimarum. Aprutium-Molisium 170
			S. Cosme de Cambiano	1327	Aquila 1327. De Quartierio S. Petri. Ecclesia S. Cosme de Cannano gr. XII (may not be the same as above)		Rationes Decimarum. Aprutium-Molisium 298
44	Aprutium - Molisium	Marsia	S. Cosme de Tallacozio, S. Cosme in Civitella, S. Cosmae de Ci (dep. Montecassino to 13th C)	by 1097		S. Cosmatis in Civitella - 1172 the pope, in dealing with the abbes, calls her "abbatissa monasteri S. Cosmae de Talliacotio"	Herbert Bloch, Monte Cassino in the Middle Ages, I, 330.
			S. Cosme de Tallacozio, S. Cosme in Civitella, S. Cosmae de Ci (dep. Montecassino to 13th C)	1308	Marsia 1308. In Diocesi Marsicana. Monasterium S. Cosme de Tallacocio solvit unc. I et tar. I.		Rationes Decimarum. Aprutium-Molisium 396
			S. Cosme de Tallacozio, S. Cosme in Civitella, S. Cosmae de Ci (dep. Montecassino to 13th C)	1308	Marsia 1308. In Episcopatu Marsicano. Abbatissa monasterii S. Cosme de Talliacotio pro prima decima unc. I tar. I.		Rationes Decimarum. Aprutium-Molisium 464
			S. Cosme de Tallacozio, S. Cosme in Civitella, S. Cosmae de Ci (dep. Montecassino to 13th C)	1324	Marsia 1324. Die predicta et loco domina abbatissa monasterii S. Cosmati de Talglacotio solvit dictis subcollectoribus pro se et conventu ipsius in auro carlenis sexaginta per unciam computatis unc. unam.		Rationes Decimarum. Aprutium-Molisium 690
			S. Cosme de Tallacozio, S. Cosme in Civitella, S. Cosmae de Ci (dep. Montecassino to 13th C)	1324	Marsia 1324. De Uricula. Ecclesia S. Cosmati de Rocca de Cerro, tenet dominus Raynaldus nepos domini episcopi marsicani.		Rationes Decimarum. Aprutium-Molisium 985

			S. Cosme de Tallacozio, S. Cosme in Civitella, S. Cosmae de Ci (dep. Montecassino to 13th C)	late 13th C	Elenco di chiese della Marsia dipendenti dal monastero di Montecassino fine sec. XIII. (Archive of Montecassino): S. Cosme, S. Herasmi, S. Angeli, S. Donati in Taliacozo.		Rationes Decimarum. Aprutium-Molisium 996
			S. Cosme de Tallacozio, S. Cosme in Civitella, S. Cosmae de Ci (dep. Montecassino to 13th C)	late 13th C	Elenco di chiese della Marsia dipendenti dal monastero di Montecassino fine sec. XIII. (Archive of Montecassino): S. Cosme in Civitella.		Rationes Decimarum. Aprutium-Molisium 1003
			S. Cosme de Tallacozio, S. Cosme in Civitella, S. Cosmae de Ci (dep. Montecassino to 13th C)	856-883		Already in Monte Cassino's possession in the time of Abbot Bertharius (856-883) - S. Cosmae de Civitella - 2 dependant churches - S. Maria in Ellereto and S. Levcius in Moscosi; also to be listed as S. Cosmae de Ellereto as a possession of the monastery of S. Angelo in Barrea	Herbert Bloch, Monte Cassino in the Middle Ages, I, 329.
			S. Cosme de Tallacozio, S. Cosme in Civitella, S. Cosmae de Ci (dep. Montecassino to 13th C)	c.970		S. Angelo of Barrea became a dependency of Monte Cassino - then the ambiguity of the status of S. Cosmas disappears, the convent appears regularly in letters, however the name remains unstable - also called S. Cosmae in Clereto	Herbert Bloch, Monte Cassino in the Middle Ages, I, 329.
			S. Cosme de Tallacozio, S. Cosme in Civitella, S. Cosmae de Ci (dep. Montecassino to 13th C)	980		privilege mentions it, benedictine.	Cottineau II, 3112.
46	Aprutium - Molisium	Marsia	S. Cosme in Vena (dep. Montecassino to 13th C)	late 13th C	Elenco di chiese della Marsia dipendenti dal monastero di Montecassino fine sec. XIII. (Archive of Montecassino): S. Cosme in Vena.		Rationes Decimarum. Aprutium-Molisium 997
47	Aprutium - Molisium	Marsia	S. Cosme in Alento (dep. Montecassino to 13th C)	late 13th C	Elenco di chiese della Marsia dipendenti dal monastero di Montecassino fine sec. XIII. (Archive of Montecassino): S. Cosme in Alento		Rationes Decimarum. Aprutium-Molisium 1002

48	Aprutium - Molisium	Marsia	S. Cosme in Longeniano (dep. Montecassino to 13th C)	late 13th C	Elenco di chiese della Marsia dipendenti dal monastero di Montecassino fine sec. XIII. (Archive of Montecassino): S. Cosme in Longeniano.		Rationes Decimarum. Aprutium-Molisium 1004
49	Aprutium - Molisium	Sulmona	S. Cosmati in Castro Veteri	1323	Sulmona 1323. Rurales. Non. Ecclesia S. Gosmati.		Rationes Decimarum. Aprutium-Molisium 1430
			S. Cosmati in Castro Veteri	1323	Sulmona 1323. In Castro Veteri. s. Ecclesia S. Cosmati.		Rationes Decimarum. Aprutium-Molisium 1458
			S. Cosmati in Castro Veteri	1323	Sulmona 1323. In Castro de Ieri. s. Ecclesia S. Cosmati		Rationes Decimarum. Aprutium-Molisium 1486
50	Aprutium - Molisium	Teramo/ Civitella	S. Damiani de Civitella	1324	Teramo 1324. Ecclesie de Civitella sunt hec. Ecclesia S. Clucis ad Massum, ecclesia S. Salvatoris, ecclesia S. Anestasio, ecclesia S. Damiani, ecclesia S. Angeli, ecclesia S. Iohannis, ecclesia S. Felicitatis, ecclesie S. Marie, ecclesia S. Clucis de plebanatu Civitelle. con.		Rationes Decimarum. Aprutium-Molisium 2338
51	Aprutium - Molisium	Penne ed Atri	S. Cosme de Rogiano	1326	Penne ed Atri 1326. Eodem die dicti mensis sir Iohannes de Planella solvit pro decima huius anni none indictionis pro ecclesia S. Cosme de Rogiano in argento tar. unum et dimidium.		Rationes Decimarum. Aprutium-Molisium 3225
			S. Cosme de Rogiano	1328	Penne ed Altri 1328. Ecclesia S. Cosme et Damiani de Royiano. Eodem die ibidem recepti sunt per eundem vicarium et subcollectorem pro dicta secunda papali decima secundi anni a sir Iohanne de Planella rectore ecclesie S. Gosme et Damiani de Royiano solvente pro se et dictis ecclesiis in argento tar. unum et medium.		Rationes Decimarum. Aprutium-Molisium 3342
52	Aprutium - Molisium	Chieti	S. Damiani in Archa	1324-1325	Chieti 1324-1325. In Archa. s. Ecclesia S. Damiani.		Rationes Decimarum. Aprutium-Molisium 3801
53	Aprutium - Molisium	Chieti	S. Cosmati in Diocesi Pennensi	1324-1325	Chieti 1324-1325. In Diocesi Pennensi. s. Ecclesia S. Cosmati.		Rationes Decimarum. Aprutium-Molisium 3834
54	Aprutium - Molisium	Chieti	S. Cosme in Guardia	1324-1325	Chieti 1324-1325. In Guardia. s. Ecclesia S. Cosme.		Rationes Decimarum. Aprutium-Molisium 4084
55	Aprutium - Molisium	Venafro	S. Damiani in Castro Sexti	1309	Venafro 1309. In Castro Sexti. Riccardus Variatus pro ecclesia S. Damiani que valet tar. VI solvit gr. XII.		Rationes Decimarum. Aprutium-Molisium 5266
			S. Damiani in Castro Sexti	1326	Venafro 1326. In Archipresbiteratu Castri Sexti. A dompno Simeone de Tartinio pro ecclesia S. Damiani gr. VIII.		Rationes Decimarum. Aprutium-Molisium 5447

56	Aprutium - Molisium	Venafrro	S. Damiani in Castro Casali	1309	Venafrro 1309. In Castro Casali. Ecclesia S. Damiani tar. III gr. XVI.		Rationes Decimarum. Aprutium-Molisium 5335
57	Aprutium - Molisium	Venafrro	S. Damiani (In Civitate et Dyocesi Venefrana)	1326	Venafrro 1326. In Civitate et Dyocesi Venefrana. Ab ecclesia S. Damiani gr. XVI pro beneficio gr. X.		Rationes Decimarum. Aprutium-Molisium 5381
58	Aprutium - Molisium ?	Vicovaro (Tivoli)	SS. Cosma e Damiano or S. Cosimato. SS. Cosmae et Damiani in Cave, S. Cosimati in valle Tiburtina.	936	ecclesia sanctorum Cosme et Damiani	possession of the monastery at Subiaco. Preben. Leo VII privileged	Monasticon Italiae I, 192
59	Campania	Gaeta	S. Damiani de Aquamundula	1308-1310	Gaeta 1308-1310. In Castro Traiecti. Medietas ecclesie S. Damiani de Aquamundula tar. VIII.		Rationes Decimarum. Campania 53
60	Campania	Aquino	S. Tamiani in Valle Riviculi	1308-1310	Aquino 1308-1310. In Valle Riviculi. Ecclesia S. Marie, ecclesia S. Marie de Pisceto, ecclesia S. Olive et ecclesia S. Tamiani de eadem villa tar. XVIII.		Rationes Decimarum. Campania 311
61	Campania	Aquino	S. Cosme in Castro Terami	1308-1310	Aquino 1308-1310. In Castro Terami. Ecclesia S. Cosme tar. III.		Rationes Decimarum. Campania 316
62	Campania	Teano	S. Damiani et S. Bartholomei de Castro Veteri	1326	Teano 1326. A presbitero Ricardo pro tercia parte S. Bartholomei, medietate S. Salvatoris, tercia parte S. Stephani et pro ecclesia S. Damiani et S. Bartholomei de Castro Veteri tar. II gr. VII. pro beneficio tar. I.	Teano has a parish of SS. Comsa e Damiano	Rationes Decimarum. Campania 1086
63	Campania	Sessa Aurunca	S. Cosme	1308-1310	Sessa Aurunca 1308-1310. In Episcopatu Suessano Provincie Capuane. Abbas Riccardus de Damiano pro ecclesiis S. Iohannis de Platea, S. Angeli et S. Cosme que valent unc. solvit tar. III.		Rationes Decimarum. Campania 1259
			S. Cosme	1326	Sessa Aurunca 1326. Hec sunt Ecclesie Dyocesis Suessane. Ab abate Iohanne Siripetri pro ecclesia S. Cosme tar. I.		Rationes Decimarum. Campania 1345
64	Campania	Carinola	S. Damiani in Civitate et Diocesi Calinensi	1308-1310	Carinola 1308-1310. In Civitate et Diocesi Calinensi. Ecclesia S. Pancratii, ecclesia S. Martini de Mauro, ecclesia S. Marie de Fauzano, ecclesia S. Marini, ecclesia S. Marie de Neuperto, ecclesia S. Marie de Grecis, ecclesia S. Damiani debent unc. I, tar. II, gr. VI.		Rationes Decimarum. Campania 1557
65	Campania	Caiazzo	S. Cosme de Balignano	1326	Caiazzo 1326. In Archipresbiteratu Plani Caiacciani. Ab. Ecclesia S. Cosme de Balignano gr. VI.		Rationes Decimarum. Campania 1726
66	Campania	Caiazzo	S. Cosme de Avirano	1326	Caiazzo 1326. In Archipresbiteratu Campaniani. Ab ecclesia S. Cosme de Avirano tar. III, gr. XII.		Rationes Decimarum. Campania 1750

			S. Cosme de Avirano	1327	Caiazzo 1327. In Archipresbiteratu Campaniani. A cappellano S. Cosme de Avirano pro predictis tar. II, gr. XV.		Rationes Decimarum. Campania 1964
67	Campania	Caiazzo	S. Cosme	1326	Caiazzo 1326. In Archipresbiteratu Rayani. Ab ecclesia S. Cosme gr. XV.		Rationes Decimarum. Campania 1753
68	Campania	Telese	S. Damiani	1308-1310	Telese 1308-1310. In Episcopato Thelesino. Ecclesia S. Damiani tar. II.		Rationes Decimarum. Campania 2083
69	Campania	Capua	S. Cosme ad Portam Novam	1308-1310	Capua 1308-1310. In Provincia Capuana. Presbiter Matheus de Nazario pro parte nepotis domini Iohannis Pipini pro ecclesiis S. Petri de Lialdisas et S. Cosme ad Portam Novam que valent unc. solvit tar...		Rationes Decimarum. Campania 2376
			S. Cosme ad Portam Novam	1308-1310	Capua 1308-1310. In provincia Capuana et primo in Civitate. Ecclesie SS. Cosme ad portam novam et Petri de Lialdisci tar. XIX1/2.		Rationes Decimarum. Campania 2514
			S. Cosme ad Portam Novam	1326	Capua 1326. Ab abate Bernardo Carticho pro ecclesiis SS. Cosme de Porta nova et S. Petri ad Sinamiscos tar. quindecim, pro beneficiis gr. decem.		Rationes Decimarum. Campania 2637
			S. Cosme ad Portam Novam	1327	Capua 1327. A presbitero Matheo de Nazario pro cappellania S. Iohannis ad Curtim, S. Petri ad Cilosniscos et S. Augustini de Capua Veteri et terries quas habet ab ecclesia S. Cosme de Porto novo et benefactis tar. VI.		Rationes Decimarum. Campania 2784
70	Campania	Capua	S. Cosme (et Damiani?) in Civitate Capuana	1308-1310	Capua 1308-1310. In Civitate Capuana. Presbiter Stabilis capellanus S. Cosme gr. XVI.		Rationes Decimarum. Campania 2427
			S. Cosme (et Damiani?) in Civitate Capuana	1326	Capua 1326. In Civitate et Dyocesi Capuana. A dompno Martino de Caserta pro cappellaniis S. Marcelli maioris et pro tribus partibus cappellanie ecclesie SS. Cosme et Damiani tar. II, gr. III pro beneficio gr. III.		Rationes Decimarum. Campania 2588
			S. Cosme (et Damiani?) in Civitate Capuana	1326	Capua 1326. A dompno Ricardo de Caserta pro tercia parte dicte ecclesie et pro medietate altaris Cosme et Damiani in Capua tar. I, gr. V pro beneficio gr. V.		Rationes Decimarum. Campania 2590
			S. Cosme (et Damiani?) in Civitate Capuana	1327	Capua 1327. A presbitero Riccardo de Caserta pro cappellania S. Michaelis ad turrin et altare quod est in ecclesia S. Cosme et benefactis tar. III.		Rationes Decimarum. Campania 2794
			S. Cosme (et Damiani?) in Civitate Capuana	1327	Capua 1327. A presbitero Martino pro cappellania dicte ecclesie et S. Cosme et altari quod est in dicta ecclesia S. Cosme ac benefactis tar. III.		Rationes Decimarum. Campania 2796

71	Campania	Capua	S. Cosme de Catrapano/Quadrupane?	1326	Capua 1326. A dompno Gaufrido pro cappellania S. Cosme de Catrapano gr. X pro beneficio gr. II.	Rationes Decimarum. Campania 2625
			S. Cosme de Catrapano/Quadrupane?	1327	Capua 1327. A Cappellanis Infrascriptis extra Chorum recepi pecuniam infrascriptam videlicet. A presbitero Paulo de Saxa pro cappellania S. Cosme de Quadrupane et benefactis tar. I, gr. XIII.	Rationes Decimarum. Campania 2771
72	Campania	Caserta	S. Cosme (could be two in Caserta cappella 'de casali' and ecclesia)	1308-1310	Caserta 1308-1310. In Episcopatu Casertano provincie capuane. Abbas Iohannes Testore pro ecclesia S. Leucii, S. Iohannis de Iurone, S. Nazarii et octava parte S. Cosme solvit tar. I, gr. VIII.	Rationes Decimarum. Campania 2920
			S. Cosme (could be two in Caserta cappella 'de casali' and ecclesia)	1308-1310	Caserta 1308-1310. Abbas Nicolaus de Raone pro ecclesia S. Marcellini, S. Silvestri, S. Mathei, S. Bartholomei, S. Clementis, sexta parte S. Martini et S. Cosme de Caserta solvit tar. XII/2.	Rationes Decimarum. Campania 2930
			S. Cosme (could be two in Caserta cappella 'de casali' and ecclesia)	1308-1310	Caserta 1308-1310. Abbas Acceptus pro ecclesia S. Marie de Tutulo, S. Castrensis, S. Cosme que valent unc. III, tar. XVIII/2 solvit tar. X, gr. XV.	Rationes Decimarum. Campania 2950
			S. Cosme (could be two in Caserta cappella 'de casali' and ecclesia)	1308-1310	Caserta 1308-1310. Presbiter Fredericus pro ecclesia S. Cosme gr. XII	Rationes Decimarum. Campania 2979
			S. Cosme (could be two in Caserta cappella 'de casali' and ecclesia)	1308-1310	Caserta 1308-1310. In Diocesi Casertana Eiusdem Provincie. Presbiter Cervus pro medietate capelle S. Cosme pro dicto residuo prime decime solvit tar. I, gr. III.	Rationes Decimarum. Campania 3064
			S. Cosme (could be two in Caserta cappella 'de casali' and ecclesia)	1308-1310	Caserta 1308-1310. Ecclesie S. Cosme pro reintegratione dicte decime solvit gr. XII.	Rationes Decimarum. Campania 3066
			S. Cosme (could be two in Caserta cappella 'de casali' and ecclesia)	1308-1310	Caserta 1308-1310. Capella S. Cosme pro reintegratione solvit tar. I.	Rationes Decimarum. Campania 3082
			S. Cosme (could be two in Caserta cappella 'de casali' and ecclesia)	1326	Caserta 1326. In civitate et dyocesi Casertana. A dompno Iacopo de Amitista pro cappellania S. Cosme et S. Angeli de Plameano tar. II.	Rationes Decimarum. Campania 3121
			S. Cosme (could be two in Caserta cappella 'de casali' and ecclesia)	1326	Caserta 1326. In archipresbiteratu Magdaloni. A dompno Iohanne de Clara pro cappellania S. Cosme gr. XV.	Rationes Decimarum. Campania 3176

			ecclesia)				
			S. Cosme (could be two in Caserta cappella 'de casali' and ecclesia)	1327	Caserta 1327. In archipresbiteratu terre casertane. A presbitero Iohanne de Clara pro rectoria et cappellania S. Cosme de Casali, S. Cosme et benefactio tar. II.		Rationes Decimarum. Campania 3293
73	Campania	Palma	S. Damiani	1324	Inquisizione dell'anno 1324. In Palma. Item iura ecclesie S. Damiani vendita fuerunt eodem anno pro unc. VIII.		Rationes Decimarum. Campania 4430
74	Campania	Mareliano	S. Damiani	1324	Inquisizione dell'anno 1324. In Mareliano. Item iura ecclesie S. Damiani vendita fuerunt eodem anno pro unc. II.		Rationes Decimarum. Campania 4455
75	Campania	Salerno	S. Damiani in Monte Corbino	1308-1310	Salerno 1308-1310. In Monte Corbino Eiusdem Diocesis. Ecclesia S. Damiani tar VIII.		Rationes Decimarum. Campania 5893
			S. Damiani in Monte Corbino		Salerno Inquisizione del sec. XIV. Inquisitio ecclesiarum Castri Montis Corbini et eius Casalium. Item ecclesia S. Damiani, cuius est rector magister Bonaventura de Agello, cui vales unc. tres, cappellanus eiusdem ecclesie.		Rationes Decimarum. Campania 5966
			S. Damiani in Monte Corbino	1309	Salerno, decime e inquisizione dell'anno 1309. De Teretorio Sereni. Ecclesia S. Damiani que est campestris cuius est rector abbas Matheus de Theuco de Giffone cui valet tar. sex ut dompnus Thomas de Marcualdo asseruit per suum sacramentum.		Rationes Decimarum. Campania 6134
			S. Damiani in Monte Corbino	1309	Salerno, decime e inquisizione dell'anno 1309. Infrascripti illi de Salerno qui decima non solverunt de quorum solutione dubitatur. Item magister Bonaventura de Agello canonicus salernitanus est rector ecclesie S. Damiani que <valet> unc. III.		Rationes Decimarum. Campania 6470
76	Campania	Sarno	S. Margarite et S. Cosme et Damiani	1308-1310	Sarno 1308-1310. In episcopatu Sarnensi residua prime decime. Ecclesie S. Margarite et S. Cosme et Damiani debent tar. III.		Rationes Decimarum. Campania 6677
		Eboi nr Salerno	SS. Cosma e Damiano	1000		They claim a cult site from 1000 that was destroyed in 1164 and rebuilt to S. Sebastian, 20th C build again to SS. Cosmas and Damian	
		Ravello	SS. Cosma e Damiano	1397		Current cult centre calims documents from 1397	

		Venticano	SS. Cosma e Damiano	1143		Rebuilt after earthquake	Gennaro Passaro, Il sulto dei Ss. Cosma e Damiano in Irpina.
		Paternopoli	San Damiano	1158-1530			Gennaro Passaro, Il sulto dei Ss. Cosma e Damiano in Irpina.
77	Apulia-Lucania Calabria	Nardo	S. Cosme	1373	Nardo 1373. Abbates et Prothopape Neritonensis Diocesis. Presbiteris S. Cosme tar. tres.		Rationes Decimarum. Apulia-Lucania Calabria 1651
78	Apulia-Lucania Calabria	Venosa	S. Cosme	1324	Venosa 1324. Capitulum Venusium. Clerici S. Cosme tar. I gr. X		Rationes Decimarum. Apulia-Lucania Calabria 1985
79	Apulia-Lucania Calabria	Reggio Calabria	Sanctorum Cosme et Damiani	1310	Reggio Calabria 1310. IN PRIMUS IN PROVINCIA REGINA EIUSQUE CIVITATE ET DIOCESI. Presbiter Lucas capellanus ecclesie Sanctorum Cosme et Damiani pro secunda decima solvit tar. III gr. XIII1/2.		Rationes Decimarum. Apulia-Lucania Calabria 3620
80	Apulia-Lucania Calabria	Mileto	SS. Cosmi et Damiani	1325	Mileto 1325. NOMINA CLERICORUM TERRE SEMINARIE EIUSDEM DYOCESIS. Dompnus Nicolaus cappellanus SS. Cosmi et Damiani tar. unum et gr. decem.		Rationes Decimarum. Apulia-Lucania Calabria 4220
81	Puglia	Conversano	SS. Cosma e Damiano ?	1000		Perhaps connected with benedictine monastery there	Pesole, Sac. Biagio. I Santi Medici Cosma e Damiano ed il loro culto in Conversano, 57-60.
82	Puglia	Oria	S. Cosma ?	9th C		there was a village called San Cosmo with a chapel dedicated to the saint. whole village destroyed end of 9th century beginning of 10th.	Pesole, Sac. Biagio. I Santi Medici Cosma e Damiano ed il loro culto in Conversano, 53.
83	Latium	Rome	SS. Cosmae et Damiani ad Asinum Frictum in S. Erasmo Monte Celio	9/02/938	“a quarto latere domucella in qua est oratorio SS. Cosmae et Damiani.”	Regestum Sublacense describing the monastery of S. Erasmo sul Celio	Christian Huelsen, le Chiese di Roma nel Medio Evo (Florence, 1927) 239.

			SS. Cosmae et Damiani ad Asinum Frictum in S. Erasmo Monte Celio	15/02/978	“domus in qua est oratorium SS. martyrum Cosmae et Damiani posita Romae regione II iuxta formam Claudia.”	Regestum Sublacense: It is likely that this oratorio was included amongst the urban churches subject to the abbey of S. Erasmo with the name of “SS. Cosmae et Damiani ubi dicitur asinum frictum” (12th C). The name is perhaps an old street name and is found in the campagna Romana.	Christian Huelsen, <i>le Chiese di Roma nel Medio Evo</i> (Florence, 1927) 239.
			SS. Cosmae et Damiani ad Asinum Frictum in S. Erasmo Monte Celio	938		Regestum Sublacense: Oratory was in a casetta in the confines of the monastery of S. Erasmo on Monte Celio, it is Benedictine and mentioned in the Regesto Sublacense in 938. Healing monks following Subiaco.	Pazzini, 195-196.
84	Latium	Rome	SS. Cosmae et Damiani trans tiberium or in Mica Aurea.	936-949		founded by Benedetto Campaninus	Filippo Caraffa, ed. <i>Monasticon Italiae I</i> , 50 (n.62).
			SS. Cosmae et Damiani trans tiberium or in Mica Aurea.	10th and 11th C		Parish documents: Founded in the 10th century by a Roman noble Benedictus q.d. Campaninus.	Christian Huelsen, <i>le Chiese di Roma nel Medio Evo</i> (Florence, 1927) 240.
			SS. Cosmae et Damiani trans tiberium or in Mica Aurea.	9/02/973; 1/02/968		Regestum Sublacense	Christian Huelsen, <i>le Chiese di Roma nel Medio Evo</i> (Florence, 1927) 240
			SS. Cosmae et Damiani trans tiberium or in Mica Aurea.	2/12/999; 04/1048; 8/10/1072; 10/12/1073		Regestum Farfense	Christian Huelsen, <i>le Chiese di Roma nel Medio Evo</i> (Florence, 1927) 240
			SS. Cosmae et Damiani trans tiberium or in Mica Aurea.			Catalogo delle abbazie di Pietro Mallio and in Giovanni Diacono	Christian Huelsen, <i>le Chiese di Roma nel Medio Evo</i> (Florence, 1927) 240

85	Latium	Rome	SS. Cosmae et Damiani de Monte Granato	1198-1216	“compositio inter cardinalem S. Laurentii in Lucina et rectorem ecclesiae S. Apollinaris supra controversia de cappellis S. Mariae de Posterula, S. Blassii de Posterula et S. Cosmae de Monte Granatorum.”Two papal bulls: Innocent III, Onorio III	The site disappeared after the 15th century. It was next to S. Trifone and S. Salvatore delle Coppelle. Two bulls edited by Zaccagni concur with this. He suggests there was a family Granatis who were maybe related to the place.	Christian Huelsen, le Chiese di Roma nel Medio Evo (Florence, 1927) 241.
86	Latium	Rome	SS. Cosmae de Pinea			Site of church indicated. Map of the Bufalini folio GH	Christian Huelsen, le Chiese di Roma nel Medio Evo (Florence, 1927) 241
			SS. Cosmae de Pinea	1492		According to Martinelli it was destroyed in the time of Gregory XIII (1572-1585). Liber Aniversariorum del Salvatore, in catalogue of 1492, in the Tassa of Pius IV, catalogue of Pius V	Christian Huelsen, le Chiese di Roma nel Medio Evo (Florence, 1927) 241.
87	Latium	Rome	SS. Cosmae et Damiani iuxta viam Latam	26/11/973	“ecclesia...Sancti Cosmae et Damiani...posita infra hanc civitatem Romae sta iuxta via lata.”Registrum Sublacense		Christian Huelsen, le Chiese di Roma nel Medio Evo (Florence, 1927) 241-242.
			SS. Cosmae et Damiani iuxta viam Latam	1048-1073		Statements relate to church as object of conflict in the 11th century between the clerics of S. Marcello and the Abbott of the monastery of S. Sepolcro di Aquapendente. Under 'Leo IX, Victor II, Stefano IX, Nicola II, Alessandro II	Christian Huelsen, le Chiese di Roma nel Medio Evo (Florence, 1927) 242.
			SS. Cosmae et Damiani iuxta viam Latam	4/11/1084	“ecclesiola SS. Cosmae et Damiani intra claustrum ecclesiae S. Marcelli sita.”Clement II, bull.	Settles conflict. The records disappear after the 12th century, maybe the servites demolished it to build a cloister.	Christian Huelsen, le Chiese di Roma nel Medio Evo (Florence, 1927) 242.
			SS. Cosmae et Damiani iuxta viam Latam	793	‘iuxta via Latam.’ Regesto Sublacense	likely a typo	Pazzini, 196

88	Latium	Rome	SS. Cosmae et Damiani in Xenodochio Tucio	795-816	“oratorium sanctorum Cosmae et Damiani qui ponitur in xenodochio qui appellatur Tucium.” LP 98: Leo III	Says this is the only mention of the name and that the place name is related to the medieval Aqua Tucia or Tucia upon which can read the dissertation of Corvisieri.	Christian Huelsen, <i>le Chiese di Roma nel Medio Evo</i> (Florence, 1927) 242-243.
89	Latium	Rome	SS. Cosmae et Damiani ad S. Mariam Maiorem/ad Praesepe/all’ Esquilino/ Uspani	715-731		Monastery either built or converted from an existing Geroncomium. LP Gregory II (715-731).	Monasticon Italiae I, 20; Christian Huelsen, <i>le Chiese di Roma nel Medio Evo</i> , 239; Guy Ferrari, <i>Early Roman Monasteries</i> , 101; Pazzini, 193.
			SS. Cosmae et Damiani ad S. Mariam Maiorem/ad Praesepe/all’ Esquilino/ Uspani	498-514	"Item ad Sanctam Mariam oratorium Sanctorum Cosmae et Damiani a fundamento/is constuxit" LP 53: Symmachus	Under Pope Symmachus, not in the first edition of the LP, but is in the second	L.Duchesne, ed. (1955) LP I, 262
90	Latium	Anagni	S. Cosme de Trebis (Trevi)	1298-1301	Anagni 1298-1301...abate S. Cosme de Trebis (Trevi) XLII sol.		Rationes Decimarum. Latium 42
			S. Cosme de Trebis (Trevi)	1298-1301	Anagni 1298-1301...Iohannis de Falco clerico ecclesie S. Cosme de Trebis...		Rationes Decimarum. Latium 137
			S. Cosme de Trebis (Trevi)	1298-1301	Same, again S. Cosme de Trebis		Rationes Decimarum. Latium 162
			S. Cosme de Trebis (Trevi)	1298-1301	S. Cosme de Trebis		Rationes Decimarum. Latium 213
			S. Cosme de Trebis (Trevi)		Ecclesia S. Cosme (Anagni):Item a d. Manno archipresbitero ipsius ecclesie sol; Item a Magno Vetulo pro suo beneficio den IX; Item a Cicco Petri pro suo beneficio...; Item a Iohanne Sragusa pro suo beneficio den. X.		Rationes Decimarum. Latium 733-736
			S. Cosme de Trebis (Trevi)		S. Cosme de Trebis		Rationes Decimarum. Latium 297
			S. Cosme de Trebis (Trevi)	1328-1329	Anagni 1328-1329. Item recepi a clericis S. Cosme pro ipsa ecclesia sol. XL.		Rationes Decimarum. Latium 346
			S. Cosme de Trebis (Trevi)	1328-1329	Anagni 1328-1329. Item recepi ego Nicholaus Singorilis post predictam summam a Iohanne Siracuse de beneficio suo in ecclesia S. Cosme gil. II.		Rationes Decimarum. Latium 375
			S. Cosme de Trebis (Trevi)	1331-1333	Anagni 1331-1333. Item a clericis S. Cosme de Anagnia [the note says: Iohanne Siracuse. Magno Vetulo pro suo benefices clerico eiusdem ecclesie(S. Cosme) cicicho Petri clerico eiusdem ecclesie.]		Rationes Decimarum. Latium 549

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Illustrations



Figure 1 Bronze Cross with the Virgin and Child and SS. Peter, Paul, Cosmas, Damian and Stephen (detail of SS. Cosmas and Damian), Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 6th-7th C. [Gary Vikan, "Art, Medicine and Magic in Early Byzantium," DOP 38 (1984) 65-86, Fig.28]



Figure 2 *Christ in Paradise with SS. Peter, Paul, Cosmas, Damian, Theodore and Pope Felix IV*, apse mosaic, SS. Cosma e Damiano, Rome, 526-530.



Figure 3 SS. Paul and Damian, apse mosaic SS. Cosma e Damiano, Rome, 526-530. [http://www.franciscanfriarstor.com/theorder/Basilica/stf_basilica_mosaics.htm]



Figure 4 SS. Peter and Cosmas, apse apse mosaic, SS SS. Cosma e Damiano Rome, 526-530. [http://www.franciscanfriarstor.com/theorder/Basilica/stf_basilica_mosaics.htm]



Figure 5 Pope Felix IV, apse mosaic, SS. Cosma e Damiano, Rome, 526-530. [http://www.franciscanfriarstor.com/theorder/Basilica/stf_basilica_mosaics.htm]



Figure 6 SS. *Cosmas and Damian*, British Museum, London, 6th-7th C.



Figure 7 SS. *Cosmas and Damian Receive the Gift of Healing*, November 1, Menology of Basil II, Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana, 10th-11th C. [Heinz Skrobucha, *The Patrons of the Doctors* (Recklinghausen, 1967, cover)].



Figure 8 *Virgin and Child Enthroned with Angels and Saints*, apse mosaic, Euphrasian Basilica, Poreč, 543-553.[<http://www.newliturgicalmovement.org/2009/12/basilica-of-s-eufrasiana-in-croatia.html>]

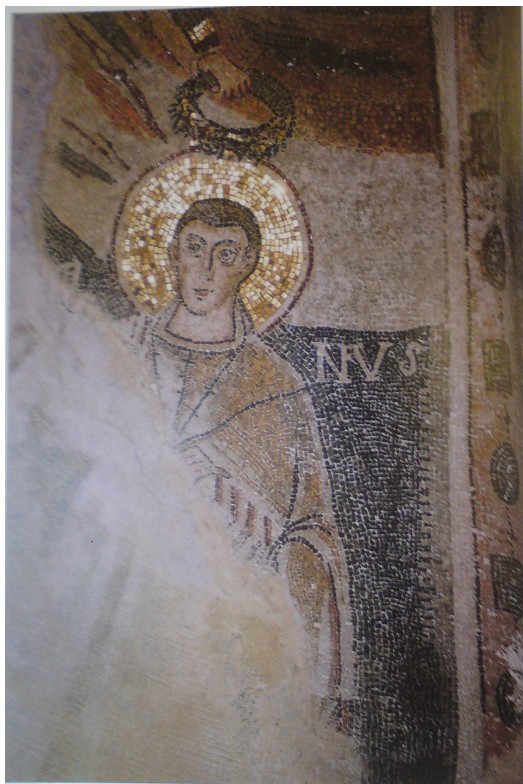


Figure 9 *Christ Crowning S. Damian*, apse mosaic, north nave, Euphrasian Basilica, Poreč, 543-553.[Ann Terry and Henry Maguire, *Dynamic Splendor. The Wall Mosaics in the Cathedral of Euphrasian at Poreč* (University Park, Pennsylvania, 2007) Fig. 167]



Figure 10 Enrico Pazzi, drawing of the apse of S. Michele in Africisco, Ravenna, 1842-1843.[Effenberger, *Das Mosaik aus der Kirche San Michele in Africisco zu Ravenna*, (Berlin, 1989) 49]



Figure 11 *SS. Cosmas and Damian*, mosaic from dome of Hagios Giorgios, Thessalonike, 4th-6th C [John Lowden, *Early Christian and Byzantine Art* (London, 1997) Fig. 3].



Figure 12 West and north walls, Chapel of the Holy Physicians, Santa Maria Antiqua, Rome, 705-707.



Figure 13 SS. Cosmas and Damian, north wall, Chapel of the Holy Physicians, Santa Maria Antiqua, Rome, 705-707.[Per Jonas Nordhagen, "The Frescoes of John VII (AD 705-707) in S. Maria Antiqua in Rome" *Acta ad Archaeologiam et Artium Historiam Pertinentia* 3 (Rome, 1968)].

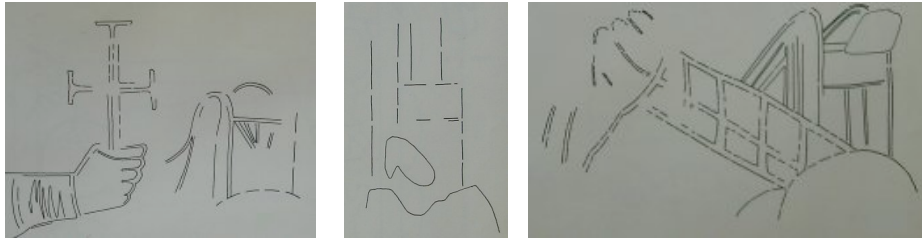


Figure 14 Per Jonas Nordhagen: Cross and surgical case of an unidentified saint, west wall; the surgical case of John of Edessa, north wall; the scroll and surgical case of an unidentified saint, west wall, Chapel of the Holy Physicians, 1968. [PNordhagen, "The Frescoes of John VII"]



Figure 15 *Harbaville Triptych* (detail), Louvre, Paris, 10th C. [John Lowden, *Early Christian and Byzantine Art* (London, 1997). Fig. 122]



Figure 16 *Romanos Ivory* (detail), Cabinet des Médailles, Paris, 10th C. [John Lowden, *Early Christian and Byzantine Art* (London, 1997). Fig.126]

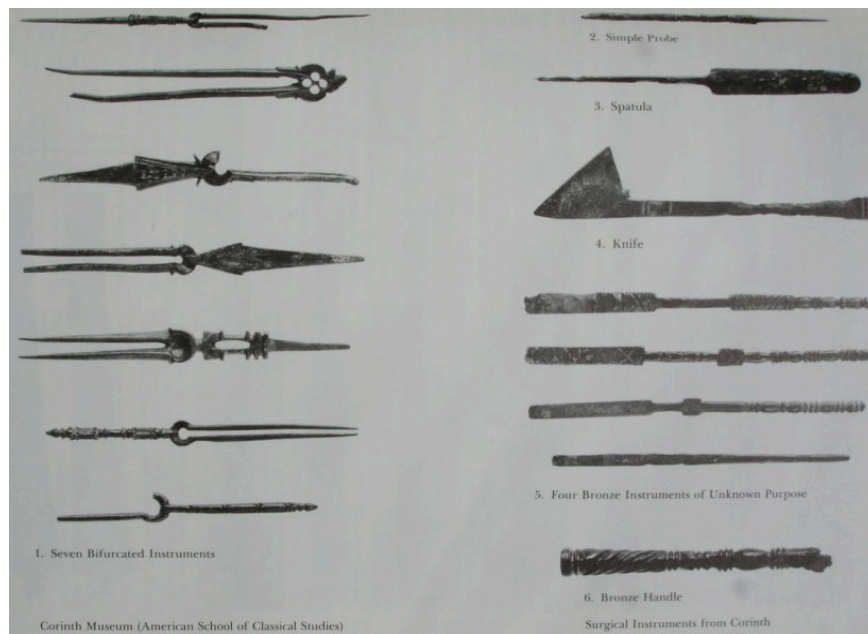


Figure 17 Medical instruments, Corinth Museum, American School of Classical Studies, 9th-12th C.
 [Lawrence J. Bliquez, "Two Lists of Greek Surgical Instruments and the State of Surgery in Byzantine Times" *DOP* 38 (1984) 187-194, Fig. 1-6]



Figure 18 *Medical Saints*, south wall, Chapel of the Holy Physicians, Santa Maria Antiqua, Rome, 705-707. [Nordhagen, "The Frescoes of John VII"].



Figure 19 *S. Cosmas* (detail), south wall, Chapel of the Holy Physicians, Santa Maria Antiqua, Rome, 705-707.

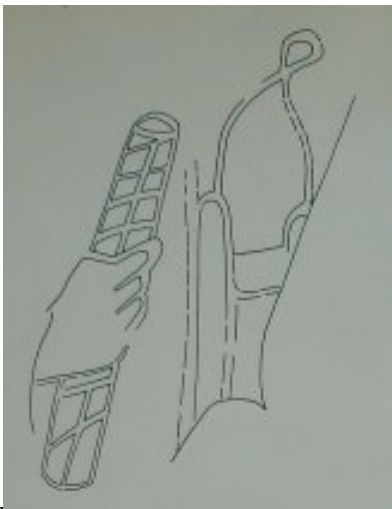


Figure 20 Per Jonas Nordhagen drawing, *S. Cosmas' scroll and case*, south wall, Chapel of the Holy Physicians, 1968. [Nordhagen, "The Frescoes of John VII"]



Figure 21 *S. Abbacyrus*, atrium, Santa Maria Antiqua, Rome, 757-767.
[http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Byzantinischer_Maler_des_7._Jahrhunderts_001.jpg]



Figure 22 *S. Damian*, S Catherine's Monastery, Sinai, 7th C. [Kurt Weitzmann, *The Monastery of Saint Catherine at Mount Sinai. The Icons. Volume I From the Sixth to the Tenth Century*, (Princeton, 1976) Pl.LXV].



Figure 23 *S. Cosmas*, S Catherine's Monastery, Sinai, 7th C. [Kurt Weitzmann, *The Monastery of Saint Catherine at Mount Sinai. The Icons. Volume I From the Sixth to the Tenth Century*, (Princeton, 1976) Pl. CII].



Figure 24 *SS. Cosmas and Damian*, Chapel 28, Apollo Monastery, Bawit, Egypt, 7th C. [Jean Clédat, *Le monastère et la nécropole de Baouît I/2* (Cairo, 1906) 157].



Figure 25 Jean Clédat, *SS. Cosmas and Damian*, Chapel 28, Bawit, Egypt, 1906. [Jean Clédat, *Le monastère et la nécropole de Baouît I/2* (Cairo, 1906) 157].

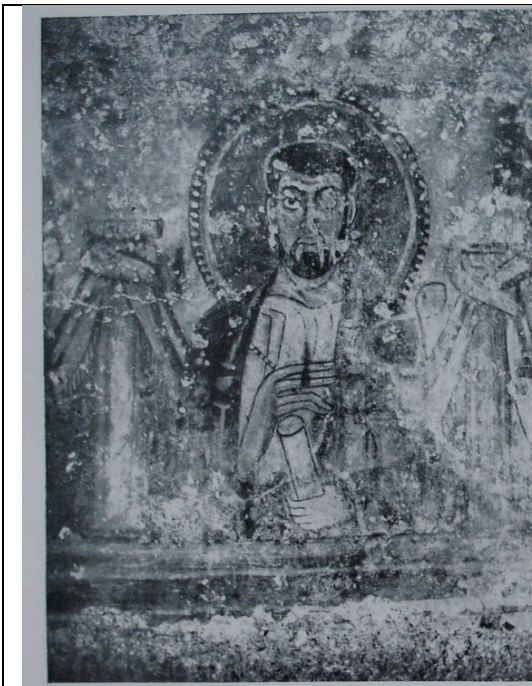


Figure 26 *SS. Cosmas*, Oratory of the Cemetery S. Lucia, Syracuse, 6th-9th C. [Paolo Orsi, *Sicilia Bizantina I* (Rome 1942) 78].



Figure 27 *SS. Damian*, Oratory, Cemetery S. Lucia, Syracuse, 6th-9th C. [Paolo Orsi, *Sicilia Bizantina I*, 78]



Figure 28 *S. Damian* (detail), Oratory, Cemetery S. Lucia, Syracuse, 6th-9th C.



Figure 29 *Physician*, relief from a sarcophagus, Ostia, 4th C. [Ralph Jackson, *Doctors and Diseases in the Roman Empire* (London, 1988) 73].

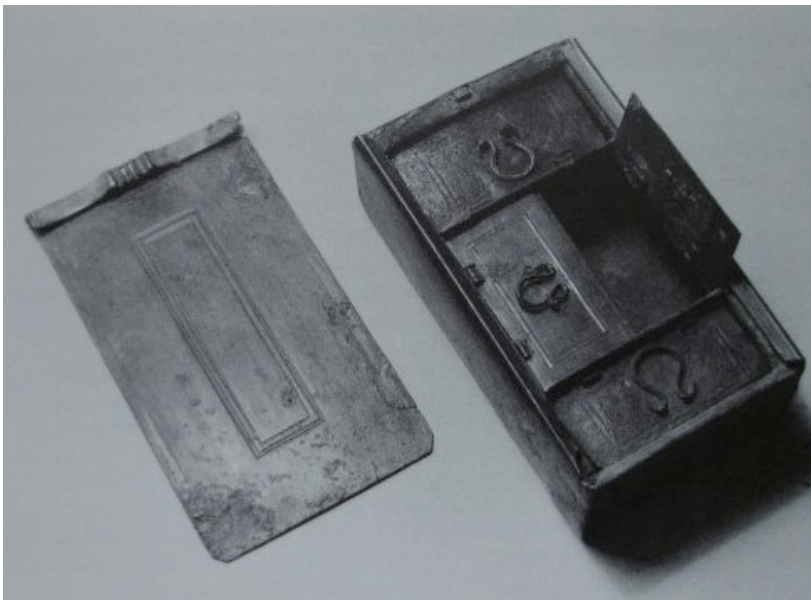


Figure 30 Bronze medical box, Roman.. [Ralph Jackson, *Doctors and Diseases in the Roman Empire*, (London, 1988) 75].



Figure 31 *Asklepios*, Roman, 1st-2nd C, State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg. [Ralph Jackson, *Doctors and Diseases in the Roman Empire* (London, 1988) 139]



Figure 32 Surgical tools, marble votive relief, Asklepios, Athens.. [Ralph Jackson, *Doctors and Diseases in the Roman Empire* (London, 1988) 115].



Figure 33 *The Martyrdom of SS. Cosmas and Damian*, October 17, Menology of Basil II, Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana, 10th-11th C. [Heinz Skrobucha, *The Patrons of the Doctors* (Recklinghausen, 1967) 13].



Figure 34 *S. Damian*, S. Catherine Monastery, Sinai, 10th C. [Kurt Weitzmann, *The Monastery of Saint Catherine at Mount Sinai. The Icons. Volume I From the Sixth to the Tenth Century*, (Princeton, 1976) B.55, 88-89]



Figure 35 *Miracle of the Peasant and the Snake*, S. Demetrios, Mistra, 14th C. [Heinz Skrobucha, *The Patrons of the Doctors* (Recklinghausen, 1967) 14].



Figure 36 *The Healing of Palladia*, S. Demetrios, Mistra, 14th C. [Heinz Skrobucha, *The Patrons of the Doctors* (Recklinghausen, 1967) 14].



Figure 37 SS. Hermolaos, Cyrus and John, south transept, Martorana, Palermo, 12th C. [Ernst Kitzinger, *The Mosaics of St. Mary's of the Admiral in Palermo* (Washington, 1990) Plate XII].



Figure 38 S. John (detail), Martorana, Palermo, 12th C.



Figure 39 *S. Cosmas*, transept arch, Capella Palatina, Palermo, 1140s. [Ernst Kitzinger, *I Mosaici del Periodo Normanno in Sicilia I: La Capella Palatina di Palermo, I Mosaici del Presbiterio* (Palermo, 1994) Fig. 124].



Figure 40 *S. Damian*, transept arch, Capella Palatina, 1140s. [Ernst Kitzinger, *I Mosaici del Periodo Normanno in Sicilia I: La Capella Palatina di Palermo, I Mosaici del Presbiterio* (Palermo, 1994) Fig. 125].



Figure 41 *S. Cosmas*, Cathedral, Monreale 12thC. Ernst Kitzinger, *I Mosaici del Periodo Normanno in Sicilia III: Il Duomo di Monreale* (Palermo, 1994) Fig. 230].



Figure 42 *S. Damian*, Cathedral, Monreale 12thC. Ernst Kitzinger, *I Mosaici del Periodo Normanno in Sicilia III: Il Duomo di Monreale* (Palermo, 1994) Fig. 231].

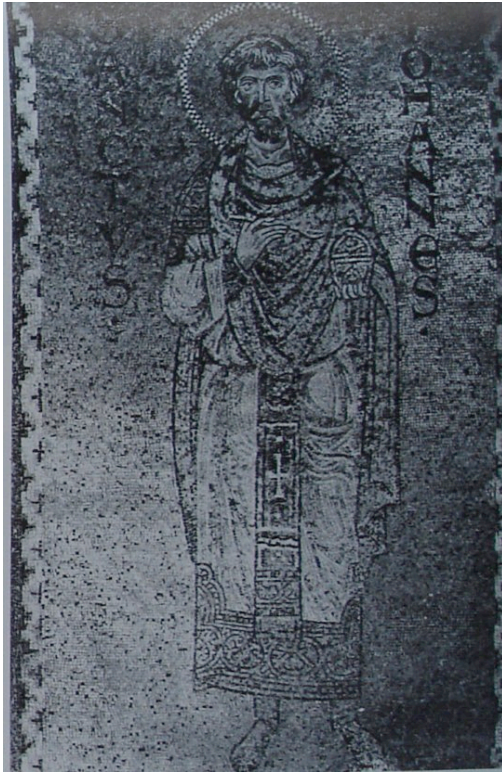


Figure 43 *S. John*, Cathedral, Monreale, 12th C.
[Ernst Kitzinger, *I Mosaici del Periodo Normanno in Sicilia III: Il Duomo di Monreale* (Palermo, 1994) Fig. 233].



Figure 44 Crypt frescoes, S. Leonardo, Massafra, 11th-12th C.
[<http://ica.princeton.edu/tomekovic/main.php>]



Figure 45 *S. Damian*, S. Leonardo, Massafra, 11th-12th C.
[<http://ica.princeton.edu/tomekovic/main.php>]



Figure 46 *S. Cosmas*, S. Leonardo, Massafra, 11th-12th C.
[<http://ica.princeton.edu/tomekovic/main.php>]



Figure 47 S. Cosmas, Grotta dei Santi, Calvi Risorta, 11th C [George Kaftal, *Iconography of the Saints in Central and South Italian Schools of Painting* (Florence, 1965) Fig. 351].



Figure 48 S. Damian, SS. Martiri, Cimitile 10th C. [Hans Belting, *Die Basilica dei SS. Martiri in Cimitile und ihr frumittelalterlicher Freskenzyklus*, (Wiesbaden, 1962) Fig. 55]



Figure 49 SS. Cosmas, Damian and Elidio. Frescoed decoration at SS Andrea e Procopio, Monopoli, 13th C. [<http://www.mondimedievali.net/edifici/Puglia/Chieserupetri/Bari/monopoli.htm#imm>]



Figure 50 *Madonna and Child with Saints*, SS. Cosma e Damiano, Como, ca. 1340. [Mina Gregori, *Pittura a Como e nel Canton Ticino dal Mille al Settecento*, (Milan, 1994) Ill. 24].



Figure 51 *Crucifixion and Saints*, Museo della Citta, Rimini, ca. 1370. [P.G. Pasini, *La pittura riminese del Trecento*, (Rimini, 1990) 156].



Figure 52 *Annunciation and Saints*, Sala del Consiglio, Palazzo dei Priori, Volterra, 1383.



Figure 53 *SS. Cosmas and Damian (detail)*, Sala del Consiglio, Palazzo dei Priori, Volterra, 1383.



Figure 54 Master of the Rinuccini Chapel (attr.), *SS. Cosmas and Damian*, North Carolina Museum of Art, Raleigh, North Carolina, ca. 1370. [Photograph North Carolina Museum of Art].



Figure 55 Master of the Rinuccini Chapel (attr.), *The Miracle of the Black Leg* (detail).



Figure 56 Master of the Rinuccini Chapel (attr.), *The Martyrdom of SS. Cosmas and Damian*, (detail).



Figure 57 Francesco Traini, *Triumph of Death* (detail), Campo Santo, Pisa, 1325.
[http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Buonamico_Buffalmacco_001.jpg]



Figure 58 Giotto, *Death of St. Francis (detail)*, Bardi Chapel, Santa Croce, Florence, 1315-1320. [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Giotto_di_Bondone_060.jpg]

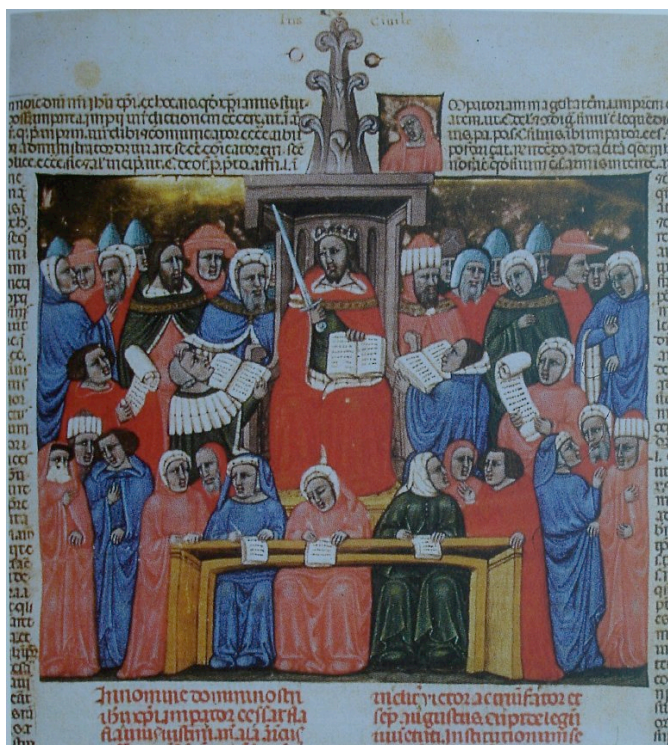


Figure 59 *Iustiniani imperatoris institutions*. Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Urb. Lat. 164, fol. 1 r, late 14thC. [Andrea von Hülsen-Esch, "Kleider machen Leute: Zur Gruppenrepräsentation von Gelehrten im Spätmittelalter" Otto Gerhard Oexle and Andrea von Hülsen-Esch, eds, *Die Repräsentation der Gruppen Texte – Bilder – Objekte* (Göttingen, 1998) Fig.1]



Figure 60 *SS. Secundianus, Marcellianus and Varianus*, S. Pietro, Tuscania, fifteenth century. http://www.canino.info/inseriti/tuscia/luoghi/tuscania_san_pietro/slides/12_cripta.html



Figure 61 *SS. Cosmas and Damian*, Pinacoteca Nazionale di Bologna, 1400-1410. [Carla Benardini ed., *La Pinacoteca Nazionale di Bologna, Catalogo Generale delle Opere Esposte* (Bologna, 1987)].



Figure 62 *S. Cosmas*, S. Giulio d'Orta, mid fifteenth century. [Giuseppe Ostino and Cristoforo Masino, "Attributi medici-farmaceutici nella iconografia piemontese dei Santi Cosma e Damiano" Julien and Ledermann, eds. *Saint Côme et saint Damien*, 77].



Figure 63 *S. Damian*, S. Giulio d'Orta, mid fifteenth century. [Giuseppe Ostino and Cristoforo Masino, "Attributi medici-farmaceutici, 77].



Figure 64 *S. Cosmas*, S. Giovanni Battista, Salbertrand, mid fifteenth century. [Giuseppe Ostino and Cristoforo Masino, "Attributi medici-farmaceutici," 73].



Figure 65 *S. Damian*, S. Giovanni Battista, Salbertrand, mid fifteenth century. [Giuseppe Ostino and Cristoforo Masino, "Attributi medici-farmaceutici," 73].



Figure 66 *S. Cosmas and S. Damian*, S. Maria di Cascina dell'Aquila, Aquila, late fifteenth century.[Mario Moretti, *Museo Nazionale d'Abruzzo nel castello cinquecentesco dell'Aquila* (l'Aquila, 1968) 90].



Figure 67 Giovanni da Modena, *S. Cosmas and S. Damian*, Gemäldegalerie, Berlin, ca. 1425-1435. [Gemäldegalerie Berlin. *Complete Catalogue of the Paintings* (London, 1986) 1062, 1063.]



Figure 68 Frontispiece, *Il ricettario medicinale necessario a tutti i medici, & speciali...* University of Florence, 1567. [http://edit16.iccu.sbn.it/scripts/iccu_ext2.dll?fn=60&i=3193#1]



Figure 69 Bicci di Lorenzo, *SS. Cosmas and Damian*, Santa Maria del Fiore, Florence, 1429.

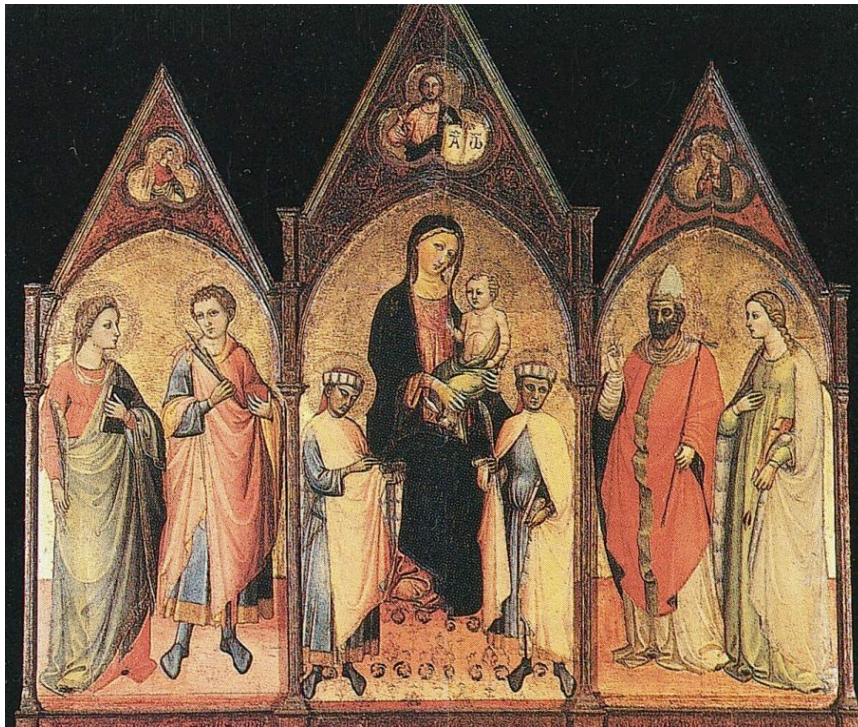


Figure 70 Lorenzo di Bicci/Bicci di Lorenzo, *Madonna and Child with Saints*, S. Ambrogio, Florence, early 15thC.



Figure 71 Gentile da Fabriano, *Polyptych of the Intercession* (1420-1423) detail, San Niccolò Oltrarno. [<http://images.cdn.fotopedia.com/flickr-128756215-original.jpg>].



Figure 72 Taddeo di Bartolo, *Annunciation*, Pinacoteca Nazionale, Siena, 1409.
[<http://www.flickr.com/photos/26911776@N06/2945050047/in/set-72157605221104561/#/>]



Figure 73 Taddeo di Bartolo, *Crucifixion of SS. Cosmas and Damian*, Pinacoteca Nazionale, Siena, 1409. [Sibilla Symeonides, *Taddeo di Bartolo* (Siena, 1965)]



Figure 74 Sano di Pietro, *Madonna and Child with Angels and Saints* (Gesuati Altarpiece), Pinacoteca Nazionale, Siena, ca. 1446. [Gaudenz Freuler, "Sienese Quattrocento Painting in the Service of Spiritual Propaganda," in Eve Borsook and Fiorella Superbi Gioffredi, ed. *Italian Altarpieces 1250-1550: Function and Design*, (Oxford, 1994) Fig. 75]



Figure 75 Sano di Pietro, *Life of SS. Cosmas and Damian* (predella to Gesuati Altarpiece), Pinacoteca Nazionale, Siena, ca. 1446.



Figure 76 Sano di Pietro, *Miracle of the Black Leg 1*, Pinacoteca Nazionale, Siena, ca. 1446.



Figure 77 Sano di Pietro Siena, *Miracle of the Black Leg 2*, Pinacoteca Nazionale, Siena ca. 1446.



Figure 78 Sano di Pietro, *Madonna and Child with Angels and Saints (San Girolamo Altarpiece)*, Pinacoteca Nazionale, Siena, 1444. [Gaudenz Freuler, "Sienese Quattrocento Painting in the Service of Spiritual Propaganda," Fig. 71]



Figure 79 Giusto d'Andrea, *Chellini Altarpiece*, San Domenico, San Miniato al Tedesco, ca. 1460.

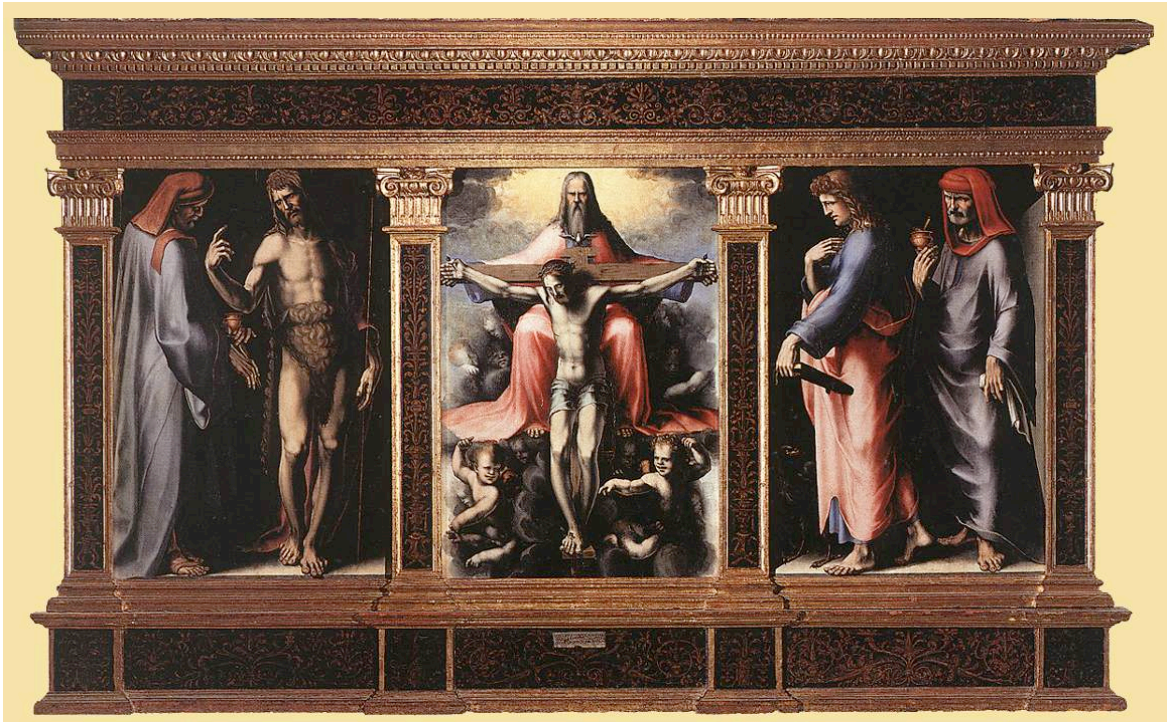


Figure 80 Domenico Beccafumi, *Crucifixion and Saints*, Pinacoteca Nazionale, Siena, 1513. [<http://www.wga.hu/frames-e.html?html/b/beccafum/index.html>]



Figure 81 Luca da Perugia, *Madonna and Child with Saints*, San Petronio, Bologna, 1417. [Carlo Volpe "La Pittura Gotica: Da Lippo di Dalmasio a Giovanni da Modena" in *La Basilica di San Petronio in Bologna I*, (Mialn, 1984) 280-4, Fig. 265.]



Figure 82 *Madonna and Child with Saints*, San Damiano, Assisi, early fourteenth century.

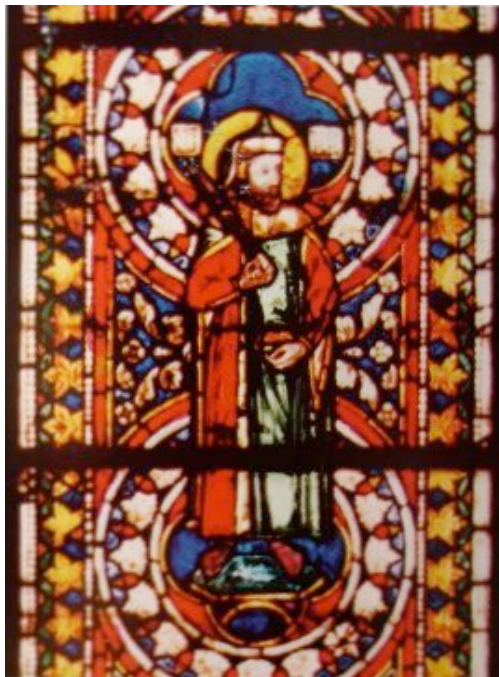


Figure 83 Simone Martini, *S. Damian*, S. Martin Chapel, San Francesco, Assisi, before 1317.



Figure 84 Interior of SS. Cosma e Damiano, Canoscio, twelfth/thirteenth century. [http://penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/E/Gazetteer/Places/Europe/Italy/Umbria/Perugia/Citta_di_Castello/Canoscio/churches/SS.Cosma_e_Damiano/home.html]



Figure 85 Inscription, SS. Cosma e Damiano, Canoscio, November 1348. [Photograph Donal Cooper, 2007]



Figure 86 *Madonna della Misericordia*, SS. Cosma e Damiano, Canoscio, 1348. [Photograph Donal Cooper, 2007]



Figure 87 Francesco d'Antonio da Firenze, *SS. Cosmas and Damian*, Duomo, Pisa, early fifteenth century. Andrea Corsini, *Il costume del medico nelle pitture fiorentine del Rinascimento* (Florence, 1912) Fig. 2]



Figure 88 *Madonna and Child with SS. Cosmas and Damian* Pinacoteca, Cremona, 1448. [Alfredo Puerari, *La Pinacoteca di Cremona* (Cremona, 1951) 36].

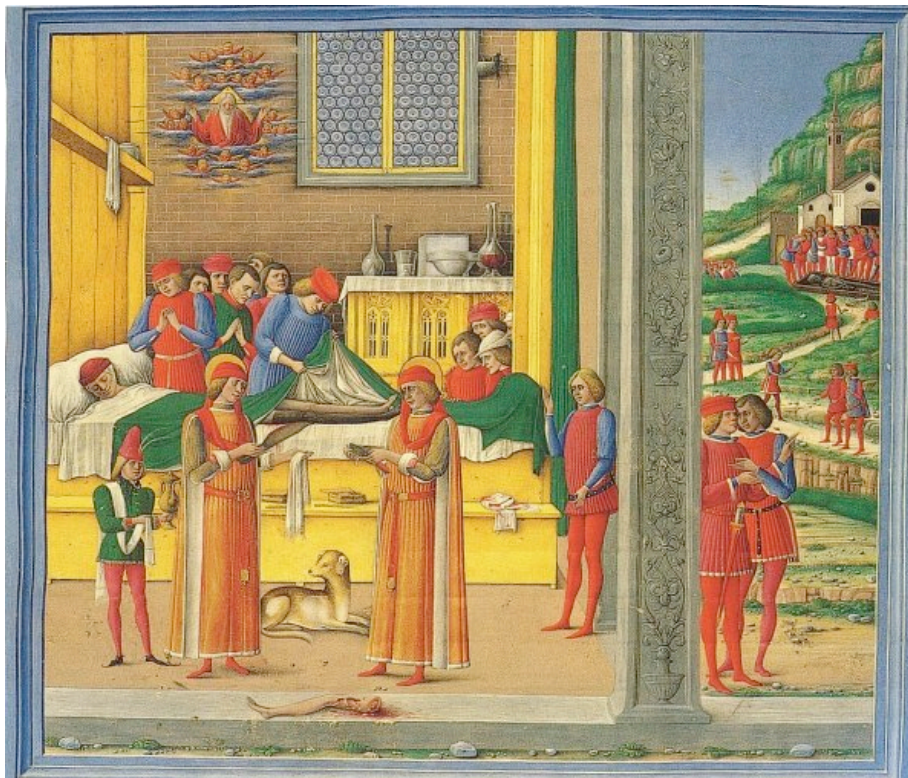


Figure 89 Girolamo da Cremona, *The Miracle of the Black Leg*, Office of SS. Cosmas and Damian, Brooke Antiphonal, Society of Antiquaries MS 450, London, 1460-70. [Alexander, ed. *The Painted Page: Italian Renaissance Book Illumination*, 232]



Figure 90 Donatello, *SS. Cosmas and Damian*, San Lorenzo, Florence, 1434-1435.
[\[http://www.wikigallery.org/wiki/painting_221896/Donatello/St-Cosmas-and-St-Damian\]](http://www.wikigallery.org/wiki/painting_221896/Donatello/St-Cosmas-and-St-Damian)



Figure 91 Fra Angelico, *Madonna and Child with Saints* (Annalena altarpiece), Museo di San Marco, Florence, mid 1430s. [*La Chiesa e il Convento di San Marco a Firenze II* (Florence, 1990) Fig.33].



Figure 92 Fra Angelico, *Christ Glorified in the Court of Heaven*, (detail of the predella of the San Domenico altarpiece), National Gallery, London, mid 1420s.
[<http://www.nationalgallery.org.uk/paintings/fra-angelico-the-forerunners-of-christ-with-saints-and-martyrs>]



Figure 93 Fra Angelico (workshop) *Damian Receiving Money from Palladia*, Museo di San Marco, Florence, mid 1430s. [*Museo di San Marco II*, Fig. 34]



Figure 94 Fra Angelico(workshop), *Cosmas and Damian before Lysias*, Museo di San Marco, Florence, mid 1430s. [*Museo di San Marco II*, Fig. 35].



Figure 95 Fra Angelico (workshop), *Cosmas and Damian rescued from the Sea by an Angel*, Museo di San Marco, Florence, mid 1430s. [Museo di San Marco II, Fig. 36].



Figure 96 Fra Angelico (workshop), *Burning of Cosmas and Damian*, Museo di San Marco, Florence, mid 1430s. [Museo di San Marco II, Fig. 37]



Figure 97 Fra Angelico (workshop), *Crucifixion of Cosmas and Damian*, Museo di San Marco, Florence, mid 1430s. [Museo di San Marco II, Fig. 38]



Figure 98 Fra Angelico (workshop), *Beheading of Cosmas and Damian*, Museo di San Marco, Florence, mid 1430s. [Museo di San Marco II, Fig. 39]



Figure 99 Fra Angelico (workshop), *Miracle of the Black Leg*, from Spencer-Churchill Collection Northwick Park, mid 1430s. [Berenson, *Italian Pictures of the Renaissance: Florentine School* (London, 1963) Fig. 612].



Figure 100 Mariotto di Nardo, *Miracle of Malchus' Wife and Miracle of the Black Leg*, Yale University Art Gallery, ca. 1400. [Charles Seymour Jr. *Early Italian Paintings in the Yale University Art Gallery*, (New Haven, 1970) Fig. 37].



Figure 101 Mariotto di Nardo, *Crucifixion of Cosmas and Damian*, Worcester Art Museum, 1405-10. [Photograph Worcester Art Museum, 2003]



Figure 102 Mariotto di Nardo, *Martyrdom of Cosmas and Damian*, Worcester Art Museum, 1405-10. [Photograph, Worcester Art Museum, 2003].

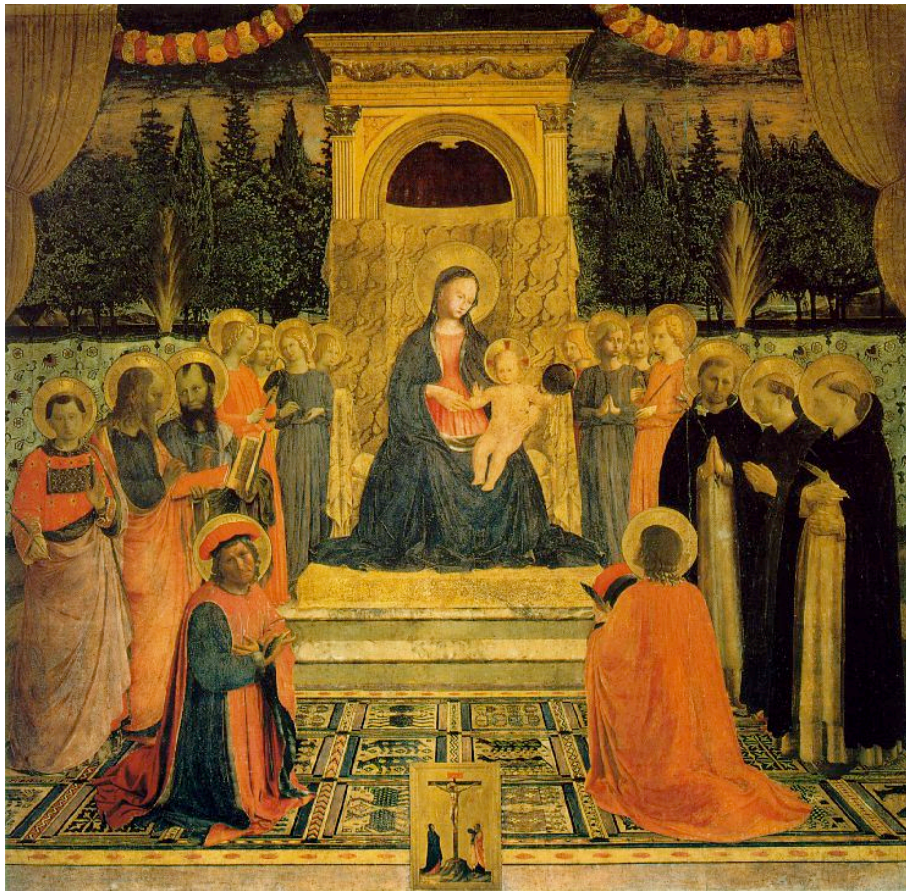


Figure 103 Fra Angelico, *Madonna and Child with Saints* (San Marco altarpiece), Museo di San Marco, Florence, ca. 1439-1443. [Museo di San Marco II, Fig. 40].

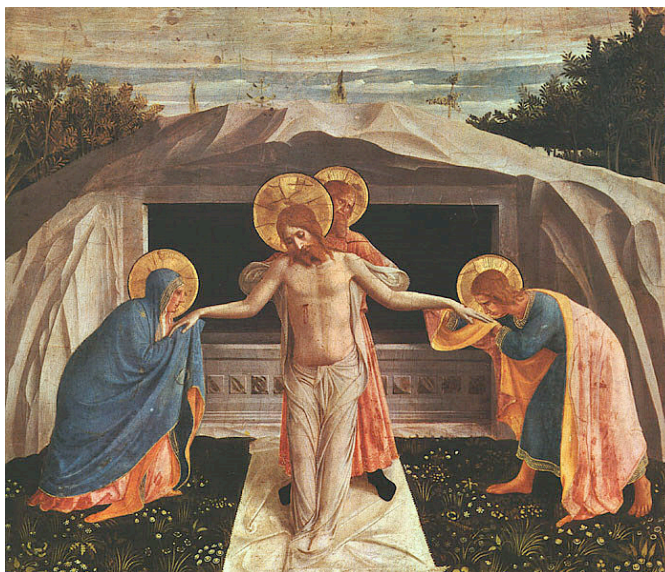


Figure 104 Fra Angelico, *Lamentation*, Alte Pinakothek, Munich, ca. 1439-1443. [William Hood, *Fra Angelico at San Marco* (New Haven, 1993) Fig. 96].



Figure 105 Fra Angelico, *Cosmas and Damian Healing Palladia*, Museo di San Marco, Florence, ca. 1439-1443. [Hood, *Fra Angelico at San Marco*, Fig. 100]



Figure 106 Fra Angelico, *Cosmas and Damian before Lysias*, Museo di San Marco, Florence, ca. 1439-1443. [Hood, *Fra Angelico at San Marco*, Fig. 102].



Figure 107 Fra Angelico, *Cosmas and Damian rescued from the Sea by an Angel/Lysias Attacked by Demons*, Alte Pinakothek, Munich, ca. 1439-1443. [Hood, *Fra Angelico at San Marco*, Fig. 101].



Figure 108 Fra Angelico, *Burning of Cosmas and Damian*, National Gallery of Ireland, Dublin, ca. 1439-1443. [Hood, *Fra Angelico at San Marco*, Fig. 103].



Figure 109 Fra Angelico, *Crucifixion of Cosmas and Damian*, Alte Pinakothek, Munich, ca. 1439-1443. [Hood, *Fra Angelico at San Marco*, Fig. 104].



Figure 110 Fra Angelico, *Beheading of Cosmas and Damian*, Louvre, Paris, ca. 1439-1443. [Hood, *Fra Angelico at San Marco*, Fig. 106].



Figure 111 Fra Angelico, *Burial of Cosmas and Damian*, Museo di San Marco, Florence, ca. 1439-1443. [Hood, *Fra Angelico at San Marco*, Fig. 105].



Figure 112 Fra Angelico, *Miracle of the Black Leg*, Museo di San Marco, Florence, ca. 1439-1443. [Hood, *Fra Angelico at San Marco*, Fig. 107].

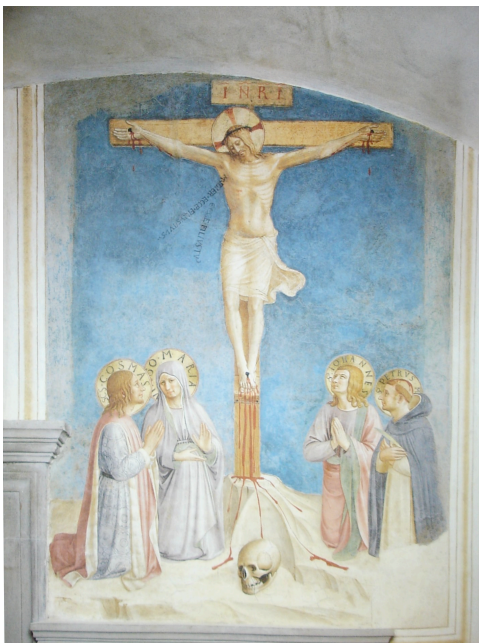


Figure 113 Angelico follower, *Jesus Consigning his Mother to Saint John*, San Marco, Florence, 1442-1443. [Museo di San Marco II, Fig. 64].



Figure 114 Fra Angelico, *Madonna and Child with Eight Saints*, San Marco, Florence, 1450s. [Museo di San Marco II, Fig. 78].

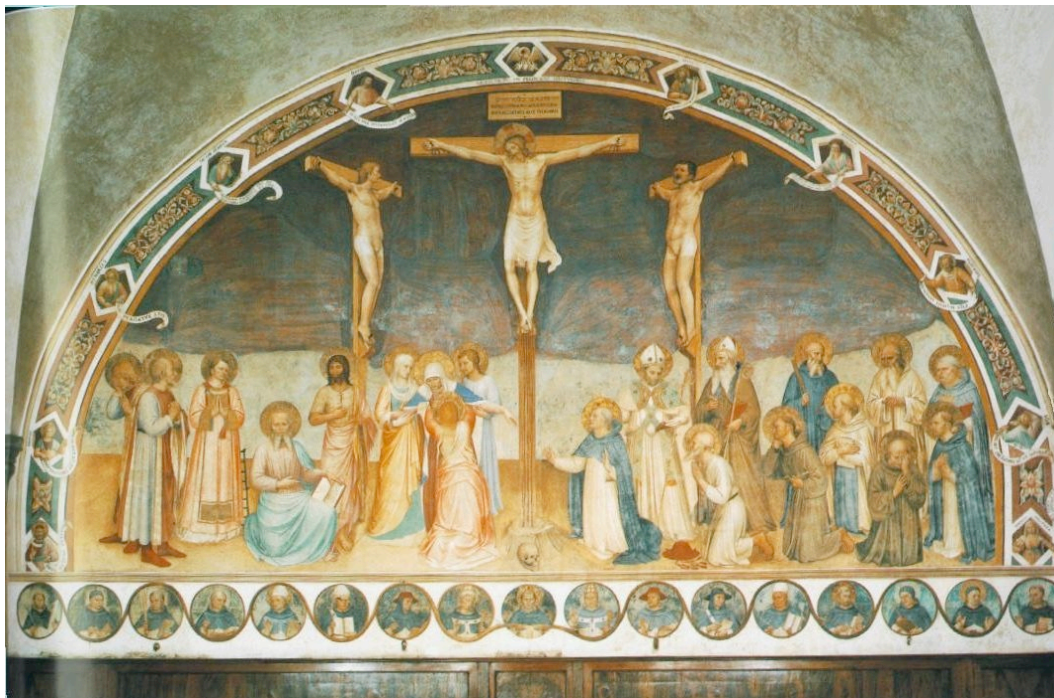


Figure 115 Fra Angelico, *Crucifixion*, Chapter Room, San Marco, Florence, 1441-1442. [Museo di San Marco II, Fig. 7].

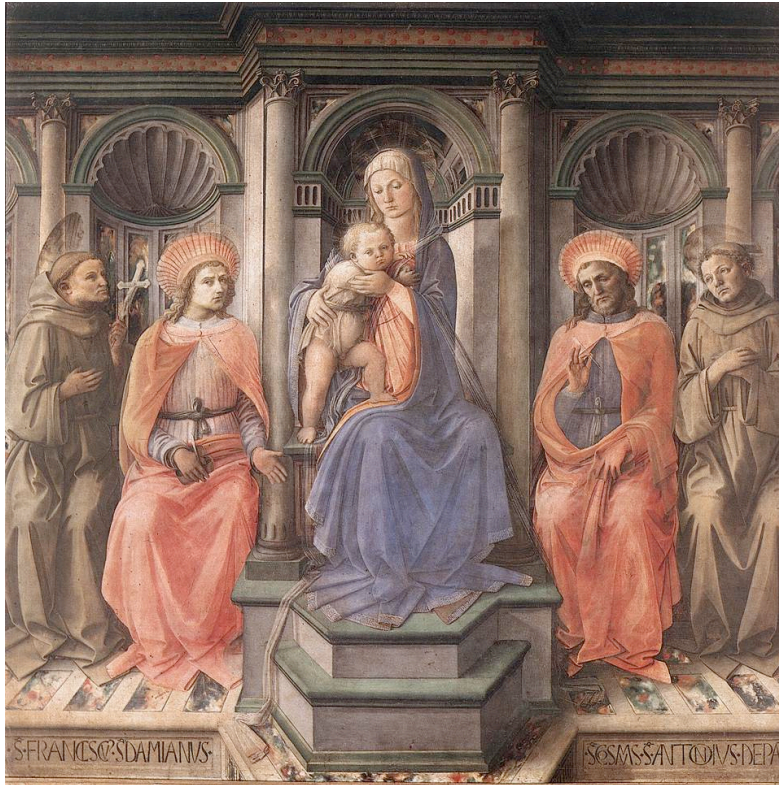


Figure 116 Filippo Lippi, *Madonna and Child Enthroned with SS. Francis, Damian, Cosmas and Anthony of Padua* (Novitiate altarpiece), Uffizi, Florence, ca. 1445. [Dale Kent, *Cosimo de' Medici*, Fig. 56].



Figure 117 Pesellino, *Nativity, Beheading of Cosmas and Damian, Miracle of Anthony of Padua preaching at the Miser's Funeral*, Uffizi, Florence; *Miracle of the Black Leg, St. Francis receiving the Stigmata*, Louvre, Paris, after 1442. [http://www.virtualuffizi.com/uffizi1/Uffizi_Pictures.asp?Contatore=105].



Figure 118 Pesellino, *Miracle of the Black Leg*, Louvre, Paris, after 1442.
[\[http://cartelen.louvre.fr/cartelen/visite?srv=obj_view_obj&objet=cartel_1273_1427_p0007934.001.jpg_obj.html&flag=true\]](http://cartelen.louvre.fr/cartelen/visite?srv=obj_view_obj&objet=cartel_1273_1427_p0007934.001.jpg_obj.html&flag=true)



Figure 119 Fra Angelico, *Madonna and Child with Angels and Saints* (Bosco ai Frati altarpiece), Museo di San Marco, Florence, 1450-1452. [*Museo di San Marco II*, Fig. 43]



Figure 120 Fra Angelico follower (Zanobi Strozzi?), *Madonna and Child with Saints* (San Girolamo altarpiece), Petit Palais, Avignon, 1463. [<http://www.petit-palais.org/musee/fr/voir-la-collection-les-peintures-italiennes/collection/les-peintures-italiennes/tri-par/siecle/et/xv/page/14>].



Figure 121 Domenico di Michelino? *Madonna and Child with Saints*, San Girolamo, Volterra, 1465.



Figure 122 Filippo Lippi, *S. Lawrence Enthroned with SS. Cosmas and Damian and Donors* (Alessandri altarpiece), Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, late 1440s.

[http://www.metmuseum.org/works_of_art/collection_database/european_paintings/saint_lawrence_enthroned_with_saints_and_donors_fra_filippo_lippi/objectview.aspx?collID=11&OID=110001341]



Figure 123 Filippo Lippi, *Seven Saints*, National Gallery, London, ca. 1449. [Dale Kent, *Cosimo de' Medici*, Fig. 122].



Figure 124 Filippo Lippi, *Annunciation*, National Gallery, London, ca. 1449. [Dale Kent, Cosimo de'Medici, Fig. 121].



Figure 125 Rogier van der Weyden, *Madonna and Child with Four Saints*, Städelsches Kunstinstitut, Frankfurt am Main, ca. 1450. <http://www.staedelmuseum.de/sm/index.php?StoryID=116&ObjectID=295>



Figure 126 Alesso Baldovinetti, *Virgin and Child with Eight Saints* (Cafaggiolo altarpiece), Uffizi, Florence, ca. 1453. [Dale Kent, *Cosimo de' Medici*, Fig. 57].